

Housing and Ethnicity: Literature Review and Select, Annotated Bibliography

Bibliographica No. 6

**by Mary Ann Beavis
1995**

The Institute of Urban Studies





THE UNIVERSITY OF
WINNIPEG

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**HOUSING AND ETHNICITY: LITERATURE REVIEW AND SELECT, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

0 Introduction

- The study of housing and ethnicity is part of the urban literature on residential segregation and racial discrimination in Canada and the larger body of research on the Canadian ethnic mosaic. Housing for minority groups is also a human rights issue, in that newcomers to Canada, as well as visible minorities, may experience impaired access to housing due to discrimination and lack of appropriate services.
- Research is needed: (1) to describe the state of present knowledge of housing and ethnicity; (2) to determine the effects and implications of Canada's multicultural society for the housing sector.
- The purpose of this annotated bibliography and review of the literature on housing and ethnicity is to delineate the present state of research, and to identify research needs.

1 Urban ethnic residential concentration

- Like their U.S. and Western European counterparts, Canadian geographers have mapped ethnic settlement patterns, especially in urban areas.
- This research has shown that ethnic populations are inclined to cluster in certain areas of Canadian cities, even when socio-economic factors are taken into account.
- In general, ethnic groups closer to the "charter" English and French immigrant groups (Northern Europeans) tend to be less concentrated than Southern and Eastern Europeans and "visible minorities."
- Contrary to the Burgess model, Canadian researchers have found that urban ethnic residential segregation is a complex phenomenon, which has not consistently declined over the past three decades.
- However, Canadian cities have nothing approaching the extreme levels of Black-White segregation found in U.S. cities.
- There is general agreement among Canadian researchers that ethnic residential clustering is problematic only if it is *involuntary*. In fact, ethnic communities within cities may contribute to neighbourhood stability and prosperity, and are consistent with Canadian multicultural policy.

1.1 Housing characteristics of urban ethnic groups

- On the whole, immigrants are more likely to own homes than non-immigrants.
- Newcomers to Canada (immigrants and refugees) are overwhelmingly dependent on rental housing, including social housing.

2 Discrimination, housing and ethnicity

- Ethnic minority groups may experience discrimination at different stages in the process of home-seeking, e.g.: marketing (realtors and landlords may publicize available housing only to certain segments of society; minorities may perceive that certain segments of the housing market are unavailable to them); initial interview with a landlord or realtor (e.g., ethnic minority home-seekers may be told that an available unit has already been taken); mortgage approval; certain ethnic groups may be perceived by landlords as "bad tenants" or by lenders as "bad risks"; ethnic home-buyers and renters may be over-charged for a unit, or offered substandard units; ethnic renters may (illegally) be required to pay "key money" to a landlord; landlords may neglect their responsibilities to minority tenants (maintenance, repairs, renovation), who may

be unaware of their rights; neighbours may shun or harass ethnic residents.

- Canadian research on ethnic discrimination in housing is much less developed than in the British and American cases. There is a general consensus among Canadian researchers that housing discrimination does exist in Canada, but Canadian researchers' sense that ethnic minorities suffer from discrimination in housing is based on very limited—often informal and anecdotal—evidence.

3 The housing preferences and choices of recent immigrants and refugees

- Newcomers to Canada are susceptible to all the kinds of discrimination described earlier, but their negative experiences in the housing market may be exacerbated by a variety of factors, e.g.: lack of English or French language skills and interpretation services; unemployment or under-employment; shortage of affordable housing, including social housing; large family size relative to units available; multi-generational families; acute need for housing by new immigrants, leading to inadequate housing and frequent moves; limited and inadequate information networks; lack of culturally appropriate services (e.g., religious institutions, ethnic businesses) in the vicinity of available housing; unfamiliarity with Canadian housing forms; mental health problems, family violence and social isolation; unsafe neighbourhoods; over-extended volunteer services; concerns about immigration status; lack of familiarity with Canadian norms regarding cleanliness and multiple tenancy.
- A top priority in immigrant settlement is for newcomers to be assisted in finding suitable housing *quickly* (before becoming "trapped" in substandard accommodations by family or financial circumstances).
- An interesting finding of the Winnipeg Chisvin/Helfand and Associates (1992) report is that landlords surveyed considered 95 percent of newcomers to be good tenants.

3.1 Cultural needs in housing

- Immigrants may require larger housing units due to larger family size.
- Many immigrant groups prefer to live with, or nearby, extended family members.
- Local zoning regulations may throw up barriers to culturally appropriate development.

4 Conclusions: Research needs and implications

- Although Canadian researchers generally acknowledge that ethnic minorities experience discrimination in housing, very little hard evidence of this exists.
- Fair housing audits, like those documented in the U.S. literature, would help to provide much-needed empirical verification of discrimination.
- Much more work also needs to be done on the extent to which social housing is becoming "ghettoized."

5 Post script: Implications for urban Aboriginal research

- Aboriginal Canadians "experience many of the same discriminatory practices which other distinctive cultural groups are subject to" (Race Relations Committee, Kitchener-Waterloo, 1991) and the same research methods and questions need to be applied to urban Aboriginal issues.

PART I:
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Housing and Ethnicity: Introduction and Literature Review

0 INTRODUCTION

The study of housing and ethnicity is part of the urban literature on residential segregation and racial discrimination in Canada.¹ It also belongs to the larger body of research on the Canadian ethnic mosaic.² The results of such research can have important implications for policy-makers in their efforts to pursue effective mortgage and housing markets, to help households in need, and to deal with some of the challenges posed by significant contribution to housing demand anticipated in the next decade.³ Housing for minority groups within Canadian society is also a human rights issue, in that newcomers to Canada, as well as visible minorities, may experience impaired access to housing due to discrimination and lack of appropriate services (see, e.g., Manitoba Association for Rights and Liberties, 1988; Commission des droits de la personne du Québec, 1988).

Housing tenure is known to be related to demographic and economic factors, but little is known about the effect of cultural factors, including ethnicity, on how Canadians are housed. There is some evidence to show that ethnicity influences rates of homeownership in major Canadian cities (Balakrishnan and Wu, 1992). There is evidence that the number of immigrants in social housing is growing.⁴ Other aspects of the effect of ethno-cultural factors on the housing needs and preferences of Canadians and immigrants to Canada have been virtually unexamined, although as Bourne *et al.* note:

. . . different ethnic groups tend to exhibit differing preferences in living arrangements, to consume a somewhat different bundle of consumer goods and social services and ultimately to define their own cultural needs and institutions. These attributes and attitudes, in turn, act to shape the structure and behaviour of local labour and housing markets and to influence the structure of social and community relations, and ultimately the political process (Bourne *et al.*, 1987, pp. 2-3).

Research is needed: (1) to describe the state of present knowledge of housing and ethnicity; (2) to determine the effects and implications of Canada's multicultural society for the housing sector.

The purpose of this annotated bibliography and review of the literature on housing and ethnicity is to delineate the present state of research, and to identify research needs. It covers a selection of books, articles and reports (mostly English-language) from the mid-1960s to the present. The majority of the literature reviewed is focused on *urban* ethnicity.

Although the focus of this review/bibliography is on Canadian cities, the vast majority of the relevant literature is American or British. In order to provide a context for the presentation of the Canadian material, a substantial selection of U.S. and U.K. references is included. Several entries on Western European cities are also included.

The bulk of the U.S., U.K. and Canadian literature on housing and ethnicity can be subsumed under two main headings: (1) *residential concentration* ("segregation") and (2) *discrimination*. As is

to be expected, although there are broad, common themes, the literature shows different national emphases. The U.S. literature is dominated by the issue of urban (especially Black) residential segregation, while the British literature is especially concerned with issues pertaining to visible minorities in social (Council) housing.⁵ A distinctive feature of the Canadian research is the study of (3) *the housing needs of recent immigrants and refugees*. Much of the literature is concerned with the housing problems of economically disadvantaged groups.

The review of the literature is organized under the following headings:

1. Urban ethnic residential concentration
 - 1.1 Housing characteristics of urban ethnic groups
- 2 Discrimination, housing and ethnicity
- 3 The housing preferences and choices of recent immigrants and refugees
 - 3.1 Cultural needs in housing
- 4 Conclusions: Research needs and implications
- 5 Post script: Implications for urban Aboriginal research

1 URBAN ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION

Patterns of urban ethnic residential concentration have been a matter of scholarly interest since the fundamental work by Park and Burgess in the 1920s.⁸ The "Burgess model" or "ecological model" of the city,

explicitly assumed an original state of ethnic segregation for recently arrived and relatively impoverished immigrant groups from which existing residential patterns evolved. Within this theoretical framework, the level of residential segregation at any time was assumed to be reflective of an ethnic population's degree of acculturation and assimilation into the larger socio-economic structure of the community (Kalbach, 1990, p. 92).

Inspired by the idea of ecological succession, in which species of plants and animals "invade" certain areas, and are successively replaced by new species, Burgess hypothesized that as the socio-economic status and cultural adaptation of immigrants increased, their populations would fan out from inner-city reception areas into ethnically more integrated suburban areas, and they would subsequently be replaced by more recent newcomers.

The seventy years that have ensued since Burgess have proven the ecological model to be inadequate to explain the most pronounced population pattern in U.S. cities. In this century, large American cities have shown sharp and *rising* degrees of Black-White residential segregation, to the point that areas exist in some U.S. cities where the population is virtually 100 percent Black (or White). The extent of Black-White segregation in the U.S. has been extensively documented (Clark, 1993; Kain and Quigley, 1975; Farley *et al.*, 1979; Frey, 1984; Galster, 1981; Goering, 1986; Goering and Coulibably, 1989; Huttman, Blauw and Saltman, 1991; Massey and Denton, 1993; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965). The "index of dissimilarity" or "index of segregation" has been widely used by U.S. researchers to measure levels of urban ethnic (primarily Black-White) segregation (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Massey and Denton, 1993).

U.S. researchers have undertaken to demonstrate that Black residential segregation does not result from free choice on the part of Black home-seekers (Goering, 1986; Massey and Denton, 1993; Farley *et al.*, 1978, 1979). Surveys have consistently shown that American Whites show an overwhelming preference for neighbourhoods with very low percentages of Black residents, while Blacks tend to prefer communities with approximately equal numbers of Blacks and Whites (Farley *et al.*, 1978, 1979; Massey and Denton, 1993). U.S. researchers have detected a pattern of "White-flight" which occurs when Black families begin to move into White neighbourhoods; White residents, concerned that large numbers of Blacks will follow, and that property values will decline as a result, move to other White-dominated areas. In addition to Whites declining to purchase housing in "transitional" neighbourhoods, Black families are often "steered" by realtors into areas undergoing this

kind of transition, thus making "resegregation" virtually inevitable (Farley *et al.*, 1978, 1979; Helper, 1979; Wilson, 1983; Denton and Massey, 1991; Varady, 1979; Frey, 1984; however, see Lee, 1985, who found this pattern to be less pronounced in the 1970s). However, others have argued that such discrimination is likely to be cancelled out by competition from non-prejudiced realtors, and by the sheer number and variety of housing suppliers.⁷

In the U.S., segregation has led to the formation of Black-dominated ghettos in many cities, and the many social and economic ills and deprivations that the word "ghetto" implies: poverty, crime, violence, inferior educational opportunities, addiction, family breakdown, *etc.* (Anderson, 1990; Galster, 1991; Massey and Denton, 1993). Massey and Denton (1993) forcefully argue that the primary reason for the persistence of Black socio-economic disadvantage in the U.S. is residential segregation, which has the inevitable effect of *concentrating* poverty and social problems. In view of the significance of segregation for American society and urban policy, it is not surprising that U.S. housing researchers have concentrated so heavily on segregation-related issues.

Like their U.S. and Western European counterparts (see Huttman, Blauw and Saltman, 1991), Canadian geographers have mapped ethnic settlement patterns, especially in urban areas (Balakrishnan, 1976, 1982; Balakrishnan and Kralt, 1987; Darroch and Marston, 1971; Fairbairn and Khatun, 1989; Herberg, 1989; Jarvis and McLemore, 1974; Kalbach, 1991; Matwijiw, 1979; Mercer, 1989; Moghaddam, 1994; Murdie, 1993; Richmond, 1972; Bourne *et al.*, 1987). Individual cities that have been singled out for study include Winnipeg (Driedger, 1971; Driedger and Church, 1974); Toronto (Balakrishnan and Kralt, 1987; Brettel, 1981; Darroch and Marston, 1971; Kalbach, 1991; Mercer, 1989; Moghaddam, 1994; Murdie, 1993; Richmond, 1972); Montreal (Balakrishnan and Kralt, 1987; Blanc, 1986; Moghaddam, 1994); Vancouver (Balakrishnan and Kralt, 1987; Mercer, 1989); and Edmonton (Fairbairn, 1989). This research has shown that ethnic populations are inclined to cluster in certain areas of Canadian cities, even when socio-economic factors are taken into account. Some ethnic groups tend to be more concentrated than others; e.g., Greeks and Chinese (Moghaddam, 1994); Blacks in public housing in Toronto (Murdie, 1993); visible minorities in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Balakrishnan and Kralt, 1987); in Winnipeg, Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, Francophones, Aboriginals (Driedger, 1971; Driedger and Church, 1974), as well as Asians, Italians and Germans (Matwijiw, 1979); South Asians (weakly segregated) in Edmonton (Fairbairn, 1989). In general, ethnic groups closer to the "charter" English and French immigrant groups (Northern Europeans) tend to be less concentrated than Southern and Eastern Europeans and "visible minorities" (Balakrishnan, 1982).

Contrary to the Burgess model, Canadian researchers have found that urban ethnic residential segregation is a complex phenomenon, which has not consistently declined over the past three decades (Balakrishnan and Kralt, 1982; Kalbach, 1991; Herberg, 1989; Moghaddam, 1994).⁸

However, Canadian cities have nothing approaching the extreme levels of Black-White segregation found in U.S. cities.⁹ Herberg (1989) cautions that Canadian researchers should probably use the term "concentration" rather than "segregation" to describe this phenomenon, due to the negative connotations of the latter. The literature suggests that areas of ethnic residential concentration can develop in at least three ways:

1. the inner-city concentration—suburban dispersal pattern predicted by Burgess (e.g., Winnipeg's North End, as described by Driedger, 1971);
2. stable ethnic neighbourhoods (e.g., Winnipeg's St. Boniface community [Driedger, 1971]);
3. U.S.-style ghettoization.

Driedger (1991) observes that ethnic communities in Canadian cities tend to follow a "multiple nuclei" pattern rather than the concentric zonal model.

In the U.S. and, to some extent, the Western European literature, dispersion/integration of minority groups is favoured as a method of addressing ethnic segregation (Farley *et al.*, 1978, 1979; Goering, 1986; Helper, 1979; Massey and Denton, 1993; Rex, 1988; Saltman, 1977; Varady, 1979; Huttman, Blauw and Saltman, 1991), but there is general agreement among Canadian researchers that ethnic residential clustering is problematic only if it is *involuntary* (Balakrishnan, 1982; Herberg, 1989; Jarvis and McLemore, 1974; Richmond, 1972; Murdie, 1993). In fact, ethnic communities within cities may contribute to neighbourhood stability and prosperity (Driedger, 1971; Driedger and Church, 1974; Jarvis and McLemore, 1974; Ray and Moore, 1991), and are consistent with Canadian multicultural policy (Jarvis and McLemore, 1974; Moghaddam, 1994; Moghaddam, Taylor and Lalonde, 1989).

1.1 HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN ETHNIC GROUPS

On the whole, immigrants are more likely to own homes than non-immigrants (Ray and Moore, 1991; CMHC, 1993). Certain ethnic groups in the Canadian mosaic show a strong preference for home ownership. For example, Balakrishnan and Wu (1992) found that persons of Chinese and Italian heritage showed a high level of home ownership in a study of six metropolitan areas. Similarly, Ray and Moore (1991) found that Asians and Southern Europeans showed a strong tendency to own.¹⁰ The same study found that younger immigrants were less likely to own than those of middle age; the authors speculate that this might be due to changes in the Canadian economy, or to the larger number of Caribbean and Third World immigrants in recent years. A simpler explanation of this finding is simply that middle-aged Canadians of any group are more likely to own than younger people. A CMHC study based on 1986 census data (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1993) found that immigrant homeowners were less likely to own single-detached dwellings than non-immigrants, and

that immigrant renters were more likely than other renters to occupy apartments. Murdie (1993) found that, in Toronto, Blacks were over-represented in social housing.¹¹

Newcomers to Canada (immigrants and refugees) are overwhelmingly dependent on rental housing, including social housing. The many problems experienced by newcomers are surveyed later in this review.

2 DISCRIMINATION, HOUSING AND ETHNICITY

The U.S. and U.K. literature on housing and ethnicity is extensive, and deals with such issues as measuring racial discrimination in housing (Clark, 1993; Galster, 1992; Kain and Quigley, 1975; Leven and Sykuta, 1994; Sarre, Phillips and Skellington, 1989; Schafer, 1979; Smith and Mieszkowski, 1980; Smith and Whalley, 1975; Turner, 1992; Turner and Yinger, 1991; Wienk, 1979; Yinger, 1978) and the implementation of federal fair housing policy and programs (Massey and Denton, 1993; Saltman, 1977; Sarre, 1986; Wienk *et al.*, 1979; Goering, 1986; Harrison, 1994; Jackson, ed., 1987; Rex, 1988; Sternlieb and Lake, 1975; Henderson and Karn, 1987). Ethnic minority groups may experience discrimination at different stages in the process of home-seeking, e.g.:

- marketing (realtors and landlords may publicize available housing only to certain segments of society; minorities¹² may perceive that certain segments of the housing market are unavailable to them);
- initial interview with a landlord or realtor (e.g., ethnic minority home-seekers may be told that an available unit has already been taken);
- mortgage approval (see Galster, 1992; Henry, 1989; Leven and Sykuta, 1994);
- certain ethnic groups may be perceived by landlords as "bad tenants" or by lenders as "bad risks" (see Hilton, Potvin and Sachdev, 1989);
- ethnic home-buyers and renters may be over-charged for a unit, or offered substandard units;
- ethnic renters may (illegally) be required to pay "key money" to a landlord;¹³
- landlords may neglect their responsibilities to minority tenants (maintenance, repairs, renovation), who may be unaware of their rights;
- neighbours may shun or harass ethnic residents.

As Hulchanski (1993) notes, discrimination in the housing market (both against ethnic minorities and women) is systemic, and reinforced by other forms of discrimination that pervade society (e.g., sexism, classism, disabilism) (pp. 1-3).

Canadian research on ethnic discrimination in housing is much less developed than in the British and American cases. There is a general consensus among Canadian researchers that housing discrimination does exist in Canada (Manitoba Association for Rights and Liberties, 1988; Balakrishnan and Wu, 1992; Bernèche, 1990; Chisvin/Helfand and Associates, 1992; Henry, 1989; Hulchanski, 1993; Moghaddam, 1994; Moghaddam, Taylor and Lalonde, 1989; Nyakabwa, 1989; Quann, 1979; Race Relations Committee, Kitchener-Waterloo, 1991a, b; Richmond, 1972; Siad, 1991). Unfortunately, however, Canadian researchers' sense that ethnic minorities suffer from discrimination in housing is based on very limited—often informal and anecdotal—evidence. In a preliminary report

on housing and racial discrimination in Canada undertaken for Multiculturalism and Citizenship, Frances Henry (1989) noted this gap in the research, and recommended the "fair housing audit" as a method that could fruitfully be applied to measure discrimination in Canadian housing transactions. The fair housing audit is a research tool for discovering racism in housing transactions, whereby two otherwise similar individuals, one White and one from a minority group, successively seek accommodation from a landlord or real estate agent, taking note of any systematic differences in treatment. Audits have proven highly effective in measuring discrimination at the initial stage of housing transactions in U.S. studies (Goering, 1986; Turner, 1992; Wienk, 1979; Galster, 1990; Tobin, 1987). To address discrimination, particularly in social housing, Henry recommends "ethnic monitoring," where ethnic records are kept and continuously monitored to ensure that clients are not subjected to racial stereotyping by housing authority employees, a method referred to particularly in the U.K. literature (see Henderson and Karn, 1987). Henry's plea for more Canadian empirical data on the extent of racial discrimination in housing has as yet gone unanswered. Only two unpublished audits on Canadian cities (Winnipeg and Montreal), undertaken by human rights organizations rather than academic researchers, were readily available for the purposes of this study (Manitoba Association for Rights and Liberties, 1988; Commission des droits de la personne, 1988).

3 THE HOUSING PREFERENCES AND CHOICES OF RECENT IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

Very little academic literature exists on the housing needs of these groups (an exception is the Quebec literature, which is more developed; see Bernèche, 1983, 1990; Blanc, 1986; Desrosiers, 1983). A recent study by Ray and Moore (1991) found high levels of homeownership among immigrants relative to non-immigrants. However, a number of reports on the needs of newcomers in different communities have been prepared for social service agencies and government departments (CMHC, 1993; Pearson and Celine, 1991; Prairie Research Associates, 1992; Race Relations Committee, Kitchener-Waterloo, 1991a, b; Siad, 1991; Wilson, 1992; Chisvin/Helfand and Associates, 1992; Neuwirth, 1989; Scarborough Housing Education for Newcomers, 1992). Specific cities covered in the available literature are Winnipeg (Prairie Research Associates, 1992); Kitchener-Waterloo (Race Relations Committee, Kitchener-Waterloo, 1991a, b); North York (Siad, 1991); Toronto (Pearson and Celine, 1991; Neuwirth, 1989; Chisvin/Helfand and Associates, 1992), Scarborough (Scarborough Housing Education for Newcomers, 1992), London (Lundrigan, 1992), Calgary (Wilson, 1992), Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Clayton Research Associates, 1994). Specific ethnicities studied include: Farsi, Spanish, Vietnamese and Polish in Winnipeg (Prairie Research Associates, 1992); Somalis in North York (Siad, 1991); Ethiopians in Toronto (Neuwirth, 1989); Columbians, Greeks, Haitians and Portuguese in Quebec (Desrosiers, 1983); Hispanic, Polish, Chinese, Persian, Vietnamese, Kurdish, Somali, Romanian, Arabic, Ukrainian, Ethiopian, Nigerian and Kikuyu newcomers in London, Ontario (Lundrigan, 1992);

Newcomers to Canada are susceptible to all the kinds of discrimination described earlier, but their negative experiences in the housing market may be exacerbated by a variety of factors, e.g.:

- lack of English or French language skills and interpretation services;¹⁴
- unemployment or under-employment;¹⁵
- shortage of affordable housing, including social housing;¹⁶
- large family size relative to units available; multi-generational families;
- acute need for housing by new immigrants, leading to inadequate housing and frequent moves;
- limited and inadequate information networks;
- lack of culturally appropriate services (e.g., religious institutions, ethnic businesses) in the vicinity of available housing;
- unfamiliarity with Canadian housing forms;
- mental health problems, family violence and social isolation;
- unsafe neighbourhoods;
- over-extended volunteer services;

- concerns about immigration status;
- lack of familiarity with Canadian norms regarding cleanliness and multiple tenancy.

For refugees, these kinds of problems are compounded by suspicion of government agencies and the legal system, and psychological distress resulting from persecution and maltreatment in their countries of origin, as well as difficulties in adapting to Canada.¹⁷ Lundrigan (1992, p. 8) aptly summarizes the many challenges facing newcomers in London, Ontario:

The integration process may be hampered by a number of factors, not the least of which is a lack of English. There are many other reasons as well: newcomers are not inclined to seek government services after experiencing repressive governments in their home countries; differing cultural norms may lower expectations and cause immigrants to accept housing conditions that most Canadians would find unacceptable; and changes in climate, environment and diet, and anxiety, loneliness and cultural dislocation often result in the inability of immigrants to cope in this country and, in extreme cases, in a breakdown of the family. Many newcomers have no idea of the services that might be available to them and, conversely, many service providers are unaware of their needs.

Refugees are also more likely to suffer from unemployment and underemployment, since unlike immigrants, their admittance to Canada is not subject to economic and occupational criteria. A London, Ontario-based project ("Invisible Walls") identified the need for newcomers to be enabled to find suitable housing *quickly* (before becoming "trapped" in substandard accommodations by family or financial circumstances) as a top priority in immigrant settlement (Lundrigan, 1992, p. 10).

An interesting finding of the Winnipeg Chisvin/Helfand and Associates (1992) report is that landlords surveyed considered 95 percent of newcomers to be good tenants. Problems experienced with other five percent involved: multiple tenancy, cleanliness, noise and lease violation. Landlords were split 50-50 as to whether these were problems unique to recent immigrants, or simply the same difficulties experienced with other low-income tenants.

3.1 CULTURAL NEEDS IN HOUSING

As intimated above, members of ethno-cultural minority groups, especially newcomers to Canada, may have socio-cultural housing needs and expectations that are difficult to meet in the Canadian housing market, especially among people with an urgent need for shelter and limited economic resources. One cultural difference is that immigrants tend to require larger housing units due to larger family size (CMHC, 1993; Chisvin/Helfand and Associates, 1992; Henry, 1989; Said, 1991; Smith and Whalley, 1975). Moreover, many immigrant groups prefer to live with, or nearby, extended family members (Bernèche, 1990; Locke, 1992; Nyakabwa, 1989). For example, Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants conceive the family as a three-generational unit, consisting of grandparents,

parents and children (Bong, 1979; Chan and Lam, 1987), preferably living together in the same residence. The Chinese/Vietnamese ideal of family home care for the elderly may be difficult to meet in Canada.

Religious needs of newcomers may also be difficult to meet, especially among home-seekers with limited incomes (see, e.g., Locke, 1992, pp. 103, 106; Harrison, 1994). Chinese immigrants may be hesitant to inhabit housing with bad *feng shui*.¹⁸ Inability to care for elderly parents at home may violate Chinese/Vietnamese spiritual beliefs; Bong (1979) quotes an elderly Vietnamese man's regretful observation that "You cannot send your father to an old-age home and then worship him after he dies" (p. 14). Prayer space and proximity to a mosque may be difficult for Muslim newcomers to find (Chisvin/Helfand and Associates, 1992; see also Harrison, 1994; Said, 1991). Local zoning regulations may throw up barriers to culturally appropriate development (e.g., Smart and Smart, 1994). These are needs that ethnic housing associations—poorly documented in the Canadian literature—may be most able to address (on this function of Black housing associations in England, see Harrison, 1994).

4 CONCLUSIONS: RESEARCH NEEDS AND IMPLICATIONS

The study of patterns of urban ethnic residential concentration in Canada is well developed. However, as Balakrishnan noted in 1982, these macro-level data need to be supplemented by in-depth qualitative data to discern the voluntary and involuntary dimensions of ethnic clustering. More micro-level studies of how successful ethnic communities work (e.g., Driedger, 1971; Driedger and Church, 1974) might suggest how areas of urban ethnic concentration could contribute to neighbourhood stabilization, especially in the inner city and older suburbs. Moghaddam (1994) calls for a higher level of multicultural awareness in planning to facilitate urban heritage preservation and sharing, as well as vibrant ethnic neighbourhoods reflective of Canadian multiculturalism policy (cf. Moghaddam, Taylor and Lalonde, 1989).

As mentioned above, although Canadian researchers generally acknowledge that ethnic minorities experience discrimination in housing, very little hard evidence of this exists. As Henry (1989) suggested, fair housing audits, like those documented in the U.S. literature, would help to provide much-needed empirical verification of discrimination. Social psychological studies which measure the complex factors underlying discriminatory behaviour on the part of landlords (e.g., Hilton, Potvin and Sachdev, 1989) and the housing decisions of ethnic minorities (e.g., Moghaddam, 1994; Moghaddam, Taylor and Lalonde, 1989) would add depth to the empirical data.

Much more work also needs to be done on the extent of the kind of "ghettoization" of social housing described by Murdie (1993). Are certain ethnic groups, particularly visible minorities, over-represented in social housing? Are ethnic users of social housing concentrated in certain housing forms, or locations? The question of whether ethnic minorities in Canada experience the kind of systemic discrimination in social housing documented in the U.K. literature (e.g., Henderson and Karn, 1987) remains to be answered (cf. Henry's [1989] call for "ethnic monitoring").

Both quantitative and qualitative data on the housing needs and problems of subgroups within the Canadian multicultural community are sparse. Such subgroups would include individual ethnic groups—particularly visible minorities—as well as women, the elderly¹⁹ and singles, mentioned only in passing in the Canadian—and international—literature. The role of ethnic housing organizations in providing culturally-sensitive accommodation and services, especially for newcomers, also needs to be documented (cf. Harrison, 1994).

Canada has no federal policy equivalent to the U.S. Fair Housing Act (1968), so the implications of federal housing policy for ethnic Canadians have not been spelled out in the literature. U.S. fair housing legislation is generally deemed to have failed; researchers often assert that this is because it has been left up to the victims of discrimination, rather than to federal housing authorities, to ensure that fair housing is enforced (Saltman, 1977; Tobin, 1987; Galster, 1990; Massey and Denton, 1993).

5 POST SCRIPT: IMPLICATIONS FOR URBAN ABORIGINAL RESEARCH

This review has deliberately bracketed out urban Aboriginal housing issues, partly because this study is a companion to a recent annotated bibliography and literature review on Aboriginal urbanization published by the Institute of Urban Studies.²⁰ It should also be noted that "For historical, cultural, and political reasons, Native citizens prefer not to be labelled as 'ethnic minority' on the same level as more recent newcomers to Canada" (Race Relations Committee, Kitchener-Waterloo, 1991b, p. 1, n. 1). However, as the Kitchener-Waterloo report just cited also observes, Natives "experience many of the same discriminatory practices which other distinctive cultural groups are subject to," and the same research methods and questions need to be applied to urban Aboriginal issues.²¹ Patterns of Aboriginal residential concentration in Canadian cities need to be mapped both spatially and chronologically. Are urban Aboriginal residents experiencing the kind of concentration—dispersal pattern predicted by Burgess, forming the nucleus of stable ethnic neighbourhoods, or drifting towards U.S.-style ghettoization? Certainly, many Aboriginals seem to suffer from the same litany of urban ills suffered by Blacks in U.S. ghettos: poverty, crime, violence, inferior educational opportunities, addiction, family breakdown, *etc.* (cf. Kastes, 1993, pp. 69-70, 78-81). Do urban Aboriginals experience the kind of systemic discrimination in the social housing system as other visible minorities?

As with other ethnic groups, urban Aboriginals are often subject to discrimination by housing providers, but there is little empirical documentation of such prejudicial treatment. A well-designed series of housing audits pairing Native and White researchers (e.g., Manitoba Association for Rights and Liberties, 1988) would be an effective way of gathering hard evidence of the existence and extent of such discrimination.

NOTES

1. See, e.g., Leo Driedger, *The Urban Factor: Sociology in Canadian Cities* (Toronto/Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 126-55; Frances Frisken, ed., *The Changing Canadian Metropolis: A Public Policy Perspective*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Canadian Urban Institute, 1994), pp. 237-58.
2. See, e.g., L. Driedger, ed., *Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities* (Toronto: Copp Clark-Pitman, 1987).
3. See Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "1993 Policy and Research Initiatives," p. 23; idem., *The State of Canada's Housing* (Ottawa, 1994), pp. 18-20. The latter document observes that "The increased immigration target announced in the fall of 1990 means that the planned level will rise from 220,000 in 1991 to 250,000 annually between 1992 and 1995" (p. 20).
4. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, *1993 Policy and Research Initiatives* (Ottawa: CMHC, 1993), p. 23.
5. The British literature also contains some sophisticated analyses of the socially constructed concept of "race," and how it is reflected in the residential segregation of New Commonwealth immigrants, as well as with other aspects of the socio-economic status of "Blacks" in Britain (Smith, 1989; Smith and Mercer, eds., 1987).
6. R.E. Park, E.W. Burgess and R.E. McKenzie, eds., *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).
7. M. Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) and R. Muth, "The Causes of Housing Segregation," in U.S. Commission of Civil Rights, *Issues in Housing Discrimination* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1986), cited in Galster (1992), p. 654.
8. Some Canadian researchers have noted that additional factors such as mother tongue and religion seem to be strong factors in some instances of ethnic residential concentration (Driedger and Church, 1974; Jarvis and McLemore, 1974; Richmond, 1972).
9. However, for historical examples of areas of Canadian cities ethnically segregated due to prejudice and discrimination on the part of the larger society, see Anderson (1991), Africville Genealogical Society (1992), Clairmont and Magill (1974), Lai (1988). For an example of voluntary segregation, see Shaffir (1974).
10. Italians and Asians in Britain show similar preferences (Sarre, 1986), whereas Caribbean immigrants tend to seek council housing.
11. See also CMHC, *1993 Policy and Research Initiatives*, p. 23. This phenomenon is common in U.S. cities, to the point that U.S. public housing has been called the "second ghetto" (see Bickford and Massey, 1991; Hirsch, 1983).

12. The term "minority" here is used to refer to ethnic groups other than the White, Western European groups, especially British and French, that have dominated the population of Canada since Confederation. However, it should be noted that these groups are only "minorities" within North America and Europe; as McAdoo, 1993, pp. 5-6, notes: "ethnic groups of colour are not minorities, but are collectively the majority of persons in the world."
13. See Hulchanski, 1993, pp. 18-19, on this practice.
14. Lack of fluency in English or French and the difficulty in obtaining interpretation services is frequently mentioned in discussions of problems encountered by newcomers in the housing market (Bernèche, 1990; Chisvin/Helfand and Associates, 1992; Nyakabwa, 1989; Siad, 1991; Prairie Research Associates, 1992).
15. However, negative attitudes towards immigrants are not only experienced by newcomers of low socio-economic status (see Smart and Smart, 1994).
16. In a study of immigrants and refugees in Calgary undertaken for the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Wilson (1992) found that newcomers estimated that they spent 37 percent of their income on housing, well above the 30 percent affordability criterion of the Core Need Model.
17. The kinds of housing problems that this may cause is suggested by Chisvin/Helfand and Associates' (1992) finding that basement apartments may be inappropriate for refugees accustomed to living above ground or recall settings of torture.
18. A form of Chinese geomancy used in determining favourable and unfavourable locations; see Winifred Gallagher, *The Power of Place: How Our Surroundings Shape Our Thoughts, Emotions, and Actions* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1993), pp. 20, 141-44, 171.
19. For U.S. material on housing for ethnic elderly, see Hoover (1981) and Wallace (1981).
20. Wade G. Kastes, *The Future of Aboriginal Urbanization in Prairie Cities* (Bibliographica 5; Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1993).
21. It should be noted that many urban Aboriginals are recent migrants to urban centres, and may experience many of the same kinds of problems as immigrants and refugees.

PART II:
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Select, Annotated Bibliography on Housing and Ethnicity

- 1 Africville Genealogical Society. *The Spirit of Africville*. Halifax: Maritext Books, 1992.

This book is a popular history and celebration of Africville, a Black community within Halifax that was broken up in the 1960s, when this poorly-serviced, economically disadvantaged, but socially and culturally distinctive, settlement fell prey to the urban renewal mentality of the time. One of the contributors, Donald Clairmont, argues that the American ideology of civil rights and integration was embraced uncritically by the experts and activists who were supposed to analyze the community's problems and defend the rights of the residents. Although the majority of the residents would have preferred to remain in Africville, and the option of improving services to the area would have been preferable from the community's perspective, residents were unable to mobilize an effective protest. Relocatees were moved primarily into social housing, and in the long run, most former Africvillers felt that the City had fared better from the relocation than had the people, although the land has remained under-used. Despite predictions that the memory of Africville would fade in time, Africville has become a symbol of Black pride—and White racism—for Black Nova Scotians, and there is even talk of resettling under-used land in the area of Halifax that was once Africville. The book also contains an interesting chapter on the history of Black migration to Nova Scotia.

- 2 Anderson, Elijah. *Streetwise: Race, Class and Change in an Urban Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

This is an ethnographic, participant-observer study of two adjacent communities in an anonymous eastern U.S. city undertaken over a 14-year period (1975-1985) by the author, who resided in one of them. One community, "The Village," is ethnically and culturally diverse, with a core of committed long-time

residents, and gentrifying. The other, "Northton," is primarily Black, economically depressed, and plagued by urban poverty and crime. The author shows how residents of the two disparate communities develop survival strategies ("street etiquette") to protect themselves in territories that may be dangerous. Ironically, gentrification is contributing to the decline of The Village, since the new "yuppy" residents have little commitment to preserving the multifarious character of the neighbourhood, and tend to move on to the suburbs as the decline of Northton encroaches on their comfort level.

- 3 Anderson, Kay J. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.

Anderson argues that Vancouver's "Chinatown," with all the changes and developments it has undergone since the 1870s, has served British-Canadian elite constructions of "Chineseness" conceived to segregate and exploit an ethnic minority. This critique of Chinatown, although admittedly forceful, has been reproached for its dependence on English-language sources, and for its failure to consider Chinese-Canadian perspectives on Vancouver's Chinatown (see the reviews by Graham E. Johnson in the *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 19,2 [1994]: 276-78 and Josephine Smart in the *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 3,1 [1994]:).

- 4 Bailey, M.J. "Effects of Race and Other Demographic Factors on the Value of Single-Family Homes." *Land Economics*, 42 (1966): 215-20.

This study found that the commonly held belief that Blacks pay a higher price for housing than Whites was not supported by multiple regression analysis of census and federal real estate tax data on single-family houses. Rather, values in slum and non-Caucasian areas

were found to be below those of comparable housing in nearby middle-income areas.

- 5 Balakrishnan, T.R. "Changing Patterns of Ethnic Residential Segregation in the Metropolitan Areas of Canada." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 19,1 (1982): 92-110.

A follow-up to Balakrishnan's 1976 study (see item 7 below), this analysis of 1971 census data found that urban ethnic residential segregation increased slightly in some areas in the decade between 1961-1971. Areas of high social class in cities are less ethnically segregated. Larger cities, as in the earlier study, show higher levels of ethnic concentration; Western cities are less segregated. Residential segregation is clearly related to social distance: Western and Northern European groups were least segregated, Eastern Europeans more segregated, and Italians and Asians are most segregated. The author asserts that these macro-data need to be supplemented by in-depth interviews to understand the voluntary and involuntary dimensions of segregation.

- 6 _____ "Ethnic Residential Segregation in the Metropolitan Areas of Canada." *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 1,4 (1976): 481-98.

This analysis of 1961 census data found that ethnic residential segregation in Canadian cities was declining. City size and recency of immigration were found to be positively correlated with higher levels of ethnic concentration.

- 7 Balakrishnan, T. and J. Kralt. "Segregation of Visible Minorities in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver." In L. Driedger, ed., *Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities*. Toronto: Copp Clark-Pitman, 1987.

This analysis of 1981 census data examined residential concentration of select ethnic groups in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver.

They found that residential segregation exists not only with visible minorities but also with Southern European and Jewish groups. In fact, contrary to expectation, the authors discovered higher indices of dissimilarity for the last two groups than for Black/Caribbean, Indo-Pakistani and Chinese populations. They speculate that language facility, cultural factors within ethnic groups, recency of immigration and institutional completeness may explain differences in residential concentration among ethnic groups. Sample surveys using in-depth questionnaires are needed to provide more nuanced interpretations.

- 8 Balakrishnan, T.R. and Z. Wu. "Home Ownership Patterns and Ethnicity in Selected Canadian Cities." *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 17,4 (1992): 389-401.

This paper analyses housing tenure among ethnic groups (Bri.-Bcomb.; Fre.-Fcomb.; W./N. European; E. European; Italian; Other Eur.; Jewish; Chinese; S. Asian; Other Asian; Aboriginal; Black; Other Single; Other Comb.) in six Canadian metropolitan areas (Calgary/Edmonton and Winnipeg/Regina/Saskatoon are classed together for the purposes of the analysis) using the 1986 Public Use census tape. The authors begin with three hypotheses: (1) ethnic groups dissimilar to the "charter" English and French communities will be more likely to own homes, due to the need for social identity and financial and psychological security; (2) homeownership is not likely to show a uniform pattern across visible minorities, because of the combined effects of the need for acceptance cited above, and the powerful effects of discrimination in the housing market; (3) different metropolitan areas will show differences in homeownership for the same ethnic groups. Overall, persons of Chinese and Italian ethnicity were found to have the highest rates of homeownership in the metropolitan areas; Blacks and Aboriginals showed the lowest rates. These findings seem to support hypotheses (1) and (2). However, ownership patterns tended to be consistent across the metropolitan areas, although overall

ownership levels varied. Length of residence in Canada had a positive relationship to homeownership, as did size of an ethnic community in a given area.

- 9 Bauman, J. *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987.

This book documents the history of public housing in Philadelphia from its beginnings in the New Deal to the 1970s. Public housing, the author contends, has evolved over the decades from "a large-scale community-building program aimed at supplying safe and sanitary housing environments to upwardly mobile working-class families into a housing strategy emphasizing the delivery of welfare services to socially and psychologically demoralized tenants" (p. 186). Ultimately, public housing has been a failure because it has been charged with too many functions that it is ill-equipped to serve: "Beginning in the 1930s, federal policy heralded public housing as a way station for the upwardly mobile poor; by 1954, public housing had evolved into a tool for accomplishing the progrowth agenda of progressive planners and downtown businessmen; in the 1960s, Washington policymakers described public housing as a center for the delivery of social welfare services; finally, by 1974 public housing bore the stigma of the federal poorhouse" (p. 207).

- 10 Bernèche, Francine. "Immigration et espace urbain: les regroupements de population Haïtienne dans la région métropolitaine de Montréal." *Cahiers québécois de démographie*, 12 (1983): 195-323.

The Haitian population in metropolitan Montreal is recent and rapidly growing. Haitians are concentrated in three municipalities of the Montreal region: North Montreal, St-Leonard and Montreal. A survey of 152 Haitian households in these areas revealed the following characteristics relative to the non-Haitian population: larger household size; more families with children at home; younger

children. Most families live in basement or second-storey apartments. Two thirds of the work force are factory labourers. These characteristics place these Haitians at an economic disadvantage in the housing market, especially in a time of economic crisis.

- 11 Bernèche, Francine. *Problématique de l'habitation pour les menages formant la nouvelle immigration à Montréal: Éléments d'information et d'intervention*. Montreal: City of Montreal, February 1990.

Identifies housing problems experienced by recent immigrants to Montreal, including: lack of access to adequate housing, discrimination, culturally unsuitable housing (family size, extended families), low economic status of immigrants, poor information access, including language barriers.

- 12 Berry, J.W. and T. Blondel. "Psychological Adaptation of Vietnamese Refugees in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health*, 1,1 (1982): 81-88.

Based on an interview and questionnaire administered to Vietnamese refugees in Kingston, Ontario, this study shows that psychological problems among Vietnamese refugees show a pattern similar to distress experienced by displaced Native peoples (Canadian Indians and Australian Aborigines). Factors which enhanced psychological adaptation were literacy, ability to speak Chinese, enrollment in an ESL program, and being married. The significance of Chinese indicates that the proximity of another established ethnic community eased adjustment.

- 13 Bickford, A. and D.S. Massey. "Segregation in the Second Ghetto: Race and Ethnic Segregation in American Public Housing, 1977." *Social Forces*, 69 (1991): 1011-36.

Using data gathered by U.S. HUD in 1977, the authors find that elderly and privately subsidized projects are largely White, whereas family and authority-owned projects are primarily Black.

- 14 Blanc, Bernadette. "Problématique de la localisation des nouveaux immigrants à Montréal." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 18 (1986): 89-108.

The author describes a relatively new catchment area for recent immigrants in Montreal, Côte-des-Neiges (nord), and outlines some of the factors which have facilitated this function, and encouraged the Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration to channel new immigrants to this area: a declining, poor and elderly Jewish population (formerly dominant in the area); an anglophone Antillean population already localized in the neighbourhood; a small Vietnamese group in transit through the community; a high, transitory student population; a high level of vacant accommodations; a monotonous urban landscape; and good access to the city centre and employment opportunities. The author expresses the hope that this area will be enabled to evolve from a "less coveted zone" to a vibrant multi-ethnic neighbourhood.

- 15 Bledsoe, Timothy. "New Study Links 'Time,' 'Place,' and Race." *Urban Centerpiece*, 2,1 (Spring/Summer 1994): 1, 7.

This is a brief report of a study of race relations in Detroit in progress at the Center for Urban Studies at Wayne State University. Some preliminary findings suggest that: (1) the gap between Black and White evaluations of neighbourhood services in segregated neighbourhoods has widened since the 1960s; (2) although Whites today are more accepting of inter-racial marriage and Black neighbours, more Whites in the 1990s than in the 1960s report having fled neighbourhoods with "too many Blacks"; (3) those Blacks who have moved to mixed-race suburbs are immensely more socio-economically successful than other

Blacks; they are also significantly more affluent than their White neighbours.

- 16 Bong, Nguyen Quy. "The Vietnamese in Canada: Some Settlement Problems." *Multiculturalism*, 3,1 (1979): 11-15.

This article is an introduction to the 6,000 Vietnamese exiles who came to Canada after the fall of South Vietnam in April 1975. Of relevance to housing is the author's observation that the Vietnamese three-generation family has become difficult to maintain. The lack of familial care for the elderly in Canadian society is problematic for the Vietnamese, whose native religion includes ancestor worship; as one elderly man poignantly observed, "You cannot send your father to an old-age home and then worship him after he dies" (p. 14).

- 17 Bourne, L.S., A.M. Backer, W. Kalbach, R. Cressman and D. Green. *Canada's Ethnic Mosaic: Characteristics and Patterns of Ethnic Origin Groups in Urban Areas*. Major Report No. 24.

Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1987.

This study, based on 1981 census data, reports on the ethnic composition of 24 CMAs. The report includes detailed tables, as well as computer maps, indicating the level of residential concentration of select ethnic groups for Calgary, Edmonton, Halifax, Hamilton, Montreal, Ottawa-Hull, Quebec, Regina, St. John's, Sudbury, Toronto and Metropolitan Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg. Populations are least ethnically homogeneous in the Atlantic provinces and Quebec, and most heterogeneous in the Prairies (where persons of "ethnic" origin outnumber the combined numbers of English, French and Aboriginal Canadians). Ontario and British Columbia are undergoing the fastest rate of change.

- 18 Boxhill, W.O. "Limitations on the Use of Ethnic Data to Quantify Visible Minorities in Canada." Ottawa: Statistics Canada Working Paper, 1984.

This brief report comments on the limited usefulness of the 1981 census data on ethnic origin for estimating the population of "visible minorities" in Canada. Ethnicity is a complex and imprecise concept, including factors such as national origins, language, religion and culture, and respondents' perceptions of their own ethnicities may be highly subjective and idiosyncratic. The ethnic origin question was designed to elicit information about ancestral nationality, not "race." The option of identifying multiple origins was not specified in the question, although it was mentioned in the Census Guide. The pros and cons of using anomalous correlations (e.g., Inuit Sikh) to adjust the data are discussed.

- 19 Brettel, Caroline B. "Is the Ethnic Community Inevitable? A Comparison of the Settlement Patterns of Portuguese Immigrants in Toronto and Paris." *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 9 (1981): 1-18.

The findings of this study challenge the ethnological truism that immigrants will inevitably form ethnic communities and networks. While the author found ample evidence of a "little Portugal" in the Kensington Market area of downtown Toronto, no significant Portuguese community, either geographical or social, was found in Paris. The author attributes this to the policies of the French government, which force immigrants to choose between temporary residence and assimilation to French culture, thus discouraging the emergence of interest groups. Moreover, due to proximity to the homeland, Portuguese immigrants tend to maintain networks with their villages in Portugal, and to aspire to eventual return.

- 20 Clayton Research Associates. *Immigrant Housing Choices, 1986*.

Prepared for the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1994.

This report highlights differences in housing choices between immigrants and non-immigrants based on an analysis of unpublished 1986 Census data. The analysis focuses on age-specific average household headship rates, as well as tenure and dwelling type choices, for Canada as a whole, and to a lesser degree, the three major metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Variations in housing choices among immigrants due to such factors as place of birth, period of immigration and income are also examined. (Summary provided by CMHC).

- 21 Chan, Kwok B. and Lawrence Lam. "Community, Kinship and Family in the Chinese Vietnamese Community: Some Enduring Values and Patterns of Interaction." In Kwok B. Chan and D.M. Indra, eds., *Uprooting, Loss and Adaptation: The Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association, 1987, pp. 15-26.

This paper touches on several aspects of the Chinese-Vietnamese family that are relevant to housing. The family is a *three-generational* unit, and most Chinese-Vietnamese would prefer that grandparents reside with children and grandchildren. Refugees are accustomed to a society where neighbourhoods are closely integrated: "The neighbourhood was portrayed as a relatively self-enclosed residential unit where all doors were kept open most of the day, . . . Interaction with neighbours was continuous" (p. 19). In Vietnam, residential mobility was minimal. The inability of refugees to locate affordable housing spacious enough to accommodate elders, and conducive to the kinds of neighbourhood networking experienced in the homeland, could be a source of housing dissatisfaction and psychological stress.

- 22 Chisvin/Helfand and Associates. *Refugee Housing Study*. Toronto: City

of Toronto Housing Department,
Research Report #92-004, 1992.

This study was undertaken to identify the housing needs and problems of refugees in Toronto. Principal issues identified were:

- Identifying the stakeholders. A wide variety of organizations and agencies deal with refugees, and the housing status of refugees may affect their ability to provide services.
- Lack of co-ordination. Programs and services are not integrated, leading to duplication of services and information gaps. Some refugee claimants are left to fend for themselves in the housing market on their arrival in Canada.
- Employment/income restrictions. Limits on work permits and professional accreditation force refugees into a low-income status, which limits housing opportunities.
- Lack of stable, affordable housing. Housing inadequacies compel refugees to move frequently, thus inhibiting employment opportunities, service accessibility. Mental and physical health problems may result from inappropriate housing.
- Language issues. Lack of translators and ESL classes inhibit refugees' ability to negotiate the housing market.
- Insufficient housing supply. There are lengthy waiting lists for social housing in Toronto. Available housing may not be adapted to refugees' cultural or religious requirements (e.g., prayer spaces for Muslims, proximity to religious institutions, basement apartments may be inappropriate for refugees accustomed to living above ground or recall settings of torture).
- Discrimination. Includes prejudice against visible minorities, welfare recipients, and sexual harassment.
- Advocacy requirements. Refugees need understandable information about their rights and obligations as tenants.
- Housing quality and suitability. Available, affordable housing is often in poor repair and overcrowded. Larger size of refugee families may be an issue.
- Information networks may be limited and inadequate.
- Mental health/family violence/isolation are all problems frequently experienced by refugees, sometimes moreso by women.
- Volunteers are a main source of support to refugees (e.g., translation services), supporting the formal services available to refugees. Unpaid services are stretched to the limit, and are credited with "making an underfunded system work at all" (p. 14).

23 Clairmont, Donald H. and Dennis William Magill. *Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.

Africville was a "shack town," originally a rural, coastal community, which became a part of Halifax, a Black ghetto tucked away in a corner of the city. Plagued by a reputation for illicit activity (notably bootlegging, a service utilized by non-Black Haligonians), high unemployment and lack of municipal services (including water and sewerage), the community's 120-year history came to an end due to an urban renewal scheme in the 1960s. Despite some resistance from the people of Africville, the residents were relocated from 1964 to 1969, the community was razed, and the land was

dedicated to industrial development. The City's plans to assist the displaced residents with housing and educational programs were inadequate, the authors conclude. The book recounts the history of the community, discusses the role of the Seaview Baptist Church (the community's "major institution"), explains the perception of Africville as a "social problem," and the relocation process and its consequences. The authors question whether the relocation was motivated by liberal-welfare ideals or by the desire to free up valuable land for development. The authors speculate that had the relocation occurred a few years later, when Blacks developed a more acute awareness of the value of ethnic traditions and identity, the decision to break up the settlement would have met with more resistance.

- 24 Clark, William A.V. "Measuring Racial Discrimination in the Housing Market: Direct and Indirect Evidence." *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 28,4 (1993): 641-49.

This re-evaluation of statistical studies of housing discrimination indicates that while there is some discrimination in the American housing market, discrimination alone does not explain the high level of residential segregation in the U.S. The role of economic factors should also be taken into account.

- 25 Commission des droits de la personne du Québec. "Une Expérience de testing de la discrimination raciale dans le logement à Montréal." Étude de la Direction de la recherche, 1988.

An audit of 203 dwellings by pairs of researchers (Black and White) seeking rental accommodation was undertaken in Montreal over a ten-day period. Significant differences were found in landlords' treatment of Black vs. White applicants; Black Anglophones experienced less discrimination than Francophone Haitians. Blacks (identifiable by accent) were more often refused an interview over the telephone; more often turned away at

the door; quoted higher rents; discouraged from renting the unit; given different specifications over the phone; asked more questions by the landlord. White researchers noted that landlords sometimes made disparaging remarks about Black tenants. The report concludes that this study reveals only a fraction of the discrimination against Blacks in the Montreal housing market.

- 26 Darroch, Gordon and Wilfred G. Marston. "Patterns of Urban Ethnicity." In Leo Driedger, ed., *Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1987, pp. 111-37.

The authors argue that ethnicity is a social process rather than an inherent quality of individuals. They suggest that urban ethnic assimilation/preservation is determined by complex interactions among urban size, ethnic groups size and residential and institutional patterns.

- 27 Darroch, Gordon A. and Wilfred G. Marston. "The Social Class Basis of Ethnic Residential Segregation: The Canadian Case." *American Journal of Sociology*, 77 (November 1971): 491-510.

This study, based on Toronto census data from 1961, concluded that ethnic populations with similar occupational and income statuses were as ethnically segregated as total ethnic populations. The authors conclude that the socio-economic explanation of ethnic residential segregation does not adequately explain this finding.

- 28 Denton, N. and D. Massey. "Patterns of Neighbourhood Transition in a Multi-ethnic World: U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970-1980." *Demography*, 28 (1991): 41-63.

This study analyzes the 1970 and 1980 U.S. censuses to test the effect of the increasingly mixed ethnic composition of America on the

ethnic composition of neighbourhoods in large U.S. metropolitan areas. The data lead them to the conclusion that the Park and Burgess (1925) model of neighbourhood change in terms of the inevitable invasion and succession of White neighbourhoods by minorities (especially Blacks) became less applicable in the decade between 1970 and 1980, due to the increasingly multicultural nature of American society. In that decade, census tracts with mixed populations (the minority groups considered were Blacks, Hispanics and Asians) became much more common, and the "all-White" neighbourhood became a thing of the past. The mere presence of ethnic minorities—even Blacks—did not necessarily foreshadow racial turnover, although Blacks still tended to migrate to mixed areas adjacent to minority enclaves, probably due to discrimination in the housing market.

- 29 Desrosiers, Denise. "Colombiennes, Grecques, Haïtiennes et Portugaises immigrés au Québec: caractéristiques socio-démographiques." *Cahiers québécois de démographie*, 12,2 (October 1983): 325-43.

This is a brief review of the demographic characteristics of Quebec immigrant women from Colombia, Greece, Haiti and Portugal, 85% of whom reside in Montreal. Desrosiers finds these women to be more economically vulnerable than other immigrant women and Canadian women in general. This is attributed to the concentration of these women in low-paying jobs with little hope of advancement and high risk of unemployment.

- 30 Driedger, Leo. "Ethnic Boundaries: A Comparison of Two Urban Neighbourhoods." *American Journal of Sociology*, 77 (November 1971): 491-510.

Driedger compares two Winnipeg "ethnic" neighbourhoods: St. Boniface (French) and the North End (Ukrainian, Jewish). St. Boniface has shown a high level of ethnic stability for a period of 160 years. The North End, in

contrast, conforms more to the Park-Burgess invasion-succession model, with some groups (e.g., Jews) leaving for the suburbs, and others moving in (Poles, Natives). The stability of the French community is attributed to early French settlement in the area, special language and cultural rights, federal support of bilingualism and biculturalism and the influence of Quebec.

- 31 Driedger, Leo. "Segregation: The Ethnic Mosaic." In *The Urban Factor: Sociology in Canadian Cities*. Toronto/Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, pp. 126-55.

This chapter surveys Canadian work on ethnic residential segregation from Roderick McKenzie's (1923) theory of ethnic dominance in urban areas, Charles Dawson's work on ethnic settlement on the Prairies (1936) and Everett Hughes' studies of French-English relations in Quebec (1943) to the recent work by Balakrishnan (cited elsewhere in this bibliography). Montreal and Toronto are Canada's most ethnically segregated cities; Calgary and Victoria the least. The most residentially segregated ethnic groups are Natives, Portuguese, Italians and Greeks. Canadian cities tend to follow the "multiple nuclei" pattern of ethnic concentration described by Shevky and Bell* rather than the zonal Park-Burgess model.

*E. Shevky and W. Bell, *The Social Areas of Los Angeles: Analysis and Typology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949).

- 32 Driedger, Leo and Glenn Church. "Residential Segregation and Institutional Completeness: A Comparison of Ethnic Minorities." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 11 (1974): 30-52.

This study of six ethno-religious groups in Winnipeg (Jewish, Ukrainian, Polish, French, Scandinavian, German) tests the hypothesis that residential concentration and institutional completeness (the maintenance of ethnic

organizations, businesses, schools, churches, etc.) is necessary for the maintenance of ethnic culture. The hypothesis was borne out by the French and Ukrainian populations, both of which maintained spatially segregated ethnic communities and institutions. Scandinavians and Germans showed less ethnic concentration, a lower level of institutional completeness, and greater assimilationist tendencies. The authors speculate that the Polish will follow the latter pattern. The Jews showed a unique pattern of invasion of the suburbs (West Kildonan and River Heights) from the North End, and the establishment of new institutions.

- 33 Fairbairn, K. and H. Khatun. "Residential Segregation and the Intra-urban Migration of South Asians in Edmonton." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 21 (1989): 45-64.

The authors found that, contrary to popular belief, South Asians in Edmonton are weakly segregated. Interviews revealed that movers are motivated mostly by household needs such as the desire to own and space requirements. Closeness to neighbours of similar ethnicity was not an important consideration in decisions to move.

- 34 Farley, R. *et al.* "Barriers to the Racial Integration of Neighborhoods: The Detroit Case." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 441 (1979): 97-113.

This study reports findings on causes of racial residential segregation from a 1976 Detroit study. The authors found that both Blacks and Whites perceive that their White *neighbours* would be less tolerant of residential integration than they really were. Thus Whites assume that the integration of their neighbourhoods will inevitably lead to "White flight," and Blacks may overestimate the resistance of White residents to Black neighbours. However, Blacks tended to prefer neighbourhoods with equal numbers of Blacks and Whites, whereas

Whites tended to prefer neighbourhoods with small numbers of Black neighbours.

- 35 Farley, R. *et al.* "Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs: Will the Trend toward Racially Separate Communities Continue?" *Social Science Research*, 7 (1978): 319-44.

This study, based on the 1976 Detroit area study, examines three explanations of urban residential segregation in the U.S. (Black city, White suburbs): (1) lower economic status of Blacks; (2) preference of Blacks to live with other Blacks; (3) White resistance to residential integration. The authors find that the third explanation is the most powerful. While White *attitudes* showed improvement, questions as to how individual Whites would behave in making specific housing decisions with implications for racial mixing of neighbourhoods.

- 36 Frey, William. "Lifecourse Migration of Metropolitan Whites and Blacks and the Structure of Demographic Change in Large Central Cities." *American Sociological Review*, 49 (1984): 803-27.

The author found that White population cohorts tended to move to the suburbs just before the age of greatest residential stability, and remained there, while Blacks at all life stages were barred from suburban areas. Little evidence of a White "back to the city" movement was found, but the social, educational and economic advancement of Blacks may bode well for more integrated suburbs.

- 37 Galster, G. "Housing Discrimination and the Urban Poverty of African Americans." *Journal of Housing Research*, 2 (1991): 1-36.

Six explanations for the economic inequalities between African and White Americans have been advanced: family structure (female-headship); economic structure (loss of

manufacturing jobs); spatial mismatch (flight of high-paying jobs to the suburbs); social-spatial isolation (residential segregation); inner-city education; and labour discrimination. Galster uses an econometric model to demonstrate how these six factors interact to result in inordinately high poverty rates for U.S. Blacks.

- 38 Galster, G. "Racial Discrimination in Housing Markets During the 1980s: A Review of the Audit Evidence." *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 9,3 (1990): 165-75.

This review of 71 fair housing audits undertaken in U.S. cities in the 1980s reveals that racial discrimination remains a dominant feature of metropolitan housing markets. Black auditors seeking homes to buy had a one-in-five chance of meeting with discrimination, while Blacks seeking rental accommodation faced a one-in-two chance. Hispanic auditors seeking rental units faced a one-in-three chance of discriminatory treatment.

- 39 Galster, G. "Research on Discrimination in Housing and Mortgage Markets: Assessment and Future Directions." *Housing Policy Debates*, 3,2 (1992): 639-83.

This lengthy article is an extensive survey of the research on housing and mortgage discrimination in the U.S., which presents an holistic conceptual framework that integrates the various research topics related to discrimination (see especially the figure on p. 642), and identifies research needs and suggested priorities. Galster advocates the use of academic research results to formulate policies and programs to combat housing discrimination. An interesting finding is that while a great deal is known about discrimination experienced by Blacks and Hispanics, very little research has been done that relates to other "protected classes."

- 40 Glebe, G. and J. O'Loughlin, eds. *Foreign Minorities in Continental*

European Cities. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1987.

This is a collection of papers, written primarily by urban geographers, on various issues relating to foreign minorities in cities in West Germany, France, and several smaller countries (Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland). Many of the papers deal with populations of "guestworkers"—foreigners, often belonging to visible minorities, invited to compensate for labour shortages in certain sectors of the economy, initially intended to be temporary residents in the host country. Although immigrant populations in each of the European cities show unique characteristics, editor O'Loughlin argues that it is important to understand the phenomenon of foreign minorities in cities in a theoretical context informed by global patterns.

- 41 Goering, J., ed. *Housing Desegregation and Federal Policy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

This collection of essays by U.S. housing experts is organized under four main headings: Perspectives on Housing Integration; Segregation and Discrimination in Housing; Social and Attitudinal Factors Affecting Housing Integration; Racial Desegregation and Federal Housing Policies). Apart from a chapter on segregation and discrimination affecting Hispanic Americans, the book focuses on the issue of urban Black housing, and covers much of the same ground as many other studies. Interesting features of this volume are its suburban focus (in many U.S. cities, the only road to desegregation Black migration to the suburbs, since White resettlement of inner-city ghettos is highly unlikely, apart from gentrification, which may have the effect of forcing Blacks into even less desirable neighbourhoods), and its recognition of the issue of resegregation. The book also reveals that the goal of housing integration is not universally espoused by Blacks; for example, the National Urban League argues that integration policy is desirable only insofar as it

enables Black Americans freedom of choice in housing. From the perspective of the Black community, integration may have the effect of diluting Black political influence. The chapter on the Hispanic experience reports the surprising finding, based on fair housing audits, that Hispanics in Denver, Houston and Phoenix, experience more discrimination than Blacks, although Hispanics are less spatially segregated. Anti-Hispanic prejudice is attributed to increased Hispanic immigration and a "circle the wagons" mentality on the part of landlords and realtors.

- 42 Goering, J.M. and M. Coulibaly. "Investigating Public Housing Segregation: Conceptual and Methodological Issues." *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 25 (1989): 265-97.

This is an investigation of concepts, methods and data on the segregation of public housing in the U.S. The authors find that there are gaps in federal reporting on the location and characteristics of public housing stock; the sample of public housing authorities used in this study show relatively high levels of segregation; there are pronounced regional differences in degree of segregation; family housing projects tend to be dominated by Blacks, whereas housing for the elderly is largely occupied by Whites; unconventional housing programs tend to be less segregated than older, conventional projects; and desegregation policies (federal, state and municipal) may have had some effect.

- 43 Gosselin, Jean-Pierre. "Une immigration de la onzième heure: les Latino-Américains." *Recherches sociographiques*, 25,3 (septembre-décembre 1984): 3930-420.

Latin American immigration to Quebec is a phenomenon that dates to the 1970s. This article studies the Chilean and Colombian communities in Montreal, the two most numerous Hispanic groups in the city. On the whole, the Latin American groups are found to be inclined towards integration into the

Francophone majority, with little tendency to form a cohesive ethnic community.

- 44 Harrison, M.L. "Housing Empowerment, Minority Ethnic Organisations and Public Policy in the U.K." *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 3,2 (1994). Forthcoming.

The author outlines the rise of "Black" (of African, Caribbean or Asian ethnicity) housing associations in England—non-profit, minority-run non-governmental organizations that own and manage social housing for ethnic tenants. Such associations are more effective than non-ethnic organizations in issues such as protection against racist attacks, special dietary or religious requirements requiring design features, and planning to facilitate inter-generational links. It is extraordinary, Harrison notes, that in a time of "Thatcherist" government hostility to public welfare, favouritism towards privatisation schemes, and ambivalent attitudes to equal opportunity and race relations issues, U.K. Housing Corporation policy has favoured subsidies and assistance to ethnic housing associations. However, the financial climate is beginning to deteriorate, and only the largest and strongest associations may survive.

- 45 Helper, Rose. "Social Interaction in Racially Mixed Neighborhoods." *Housing and Society*, 6 (1979): 20-38.

This literature review on social relations in U.S. neighbourhoods with a mixture of Black and White residents found that, in general, such relations are good among neighbours of similar socio-economic status. Friendships among children make friendly contact between adults more likely. Some neighbourhoods have created organizations to enhance stability and maintain integration. Cited as impediments to stable integrated neighbourhoods are: indifferent/corrupt city government agencies; unfair or irresponsible real estate practices; sales of property to buyers unable to maintain it; White prejudices about Black neighbours that precipitate "White flight."

- 46 Henderson, J.W. and V. Karn. *Race, Class and State Housing: Inequality and the Allocation of Public Housing in Britain*. Aldershot, UK: Gower, 1987.

This report is based on a study of public (council) housing undertaken in Birmingham. On the basis of previous findings about the housing experience of non-White Britons, the authors conclude that racial discrimination can only be understood in the context of other forms of social discrimination (gender, class), and that the different experiences of white and minority tenants cannot be explained by formal policies. Officers responsible for housing allocation tended to make decisions about where to house families not just according to need (the organizational goal of public housing), but also on the basis of "respectability." "Informal" goals, notably concern with rents and potential management problems, gain priority at point of allocation. Racial stereotypes held by housing officers—sometimes unconsciously—prompted steering of minorities into less desirable homes in "disreputable" areas. The authors recommend a reformed management and committee structure (requiring racial monitoring), staffing of housing agencies with senior, minority personnel, and ethnically-sensitive training for public housing officials.

- 47 Henry, Frances. *Housing and Racial Discrimination in Canada: A Preliminary Assessment of Current Initiatives and Information*. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship, 1989.

This study was undertaken for Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada to determine the state of knowledge about housing and discrimination in Canada. Special attention is given to initiatives in the area of race relations and housing in the Metropolitan Toronto area. The Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority established a Race Relations Policies and Programs Branch in 1986, and has a policy statement and guidelines on race relations, as well as a "harassment free" policy.

Compared with the U.S. and the U.K., very little Canadian research in this area has been done. A salient feature of housing discrimination is that it is very difficult to detect; the most effective research tool for discovering racism is the "audit" (fair housing audit), a method whereby two otherwise similar individuals, one White and one from a minority group, successively seek accommodation from a landlord or real estate agent, taking note of any systematic differences in treatment. One strategy for removing housing disadvantage for minorities is "ethnic monitoring," where ethnic records are taken and continuously monitored to ensure that clients are not subjected to racial stereotyping by housing authority employees.

An informal survey of visible minority organizations in Metropolitan Toronto revealed that all respondents viewed housing discrimination as a "major problem," but that no hard data exist to prove this, so solutions are hard to come by. Other issues identified were: problems of recent immigrants; problems obtaining credit and mortgages; lack of affordable housing; special needs of ethnic seniors; large families and overcrowding; problematic transactions between ethnic owners and tenants; need for ethnic co-op housing; need for improved access and treatment in Ontario Housing Corporation complexes. The study concludes that a Canadian research base is needed, and that eliminating racial discrimination in housing is a public responsibility, and should not be left to multicultural organizations.

- 48 Herberg, Edward N. "Residential Concentration." In Edward N. Herberg, *Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptations and Transitions*. Scarborough, ON: Nelson, 1989.

This review of the research on ethnic residential concentration, both regional and urban, finds that Canadian regions and cities have experienced varying and complex levels of ethnic concentration since the nineteenth century. The standard ecological model does not explain the endurance (and sometimes

increase) of ethnic concentration over several generations. The U.S. "segregation" explanation (in the sense of involuntary exclusion of some groups from non-minority neighbourhoods) of ethnic residential concentration should not be uncritically applied to Canadian phenomena.

- 49 Hilton, A., L. Potvin and I. Sachdev. "Ethnic Relations in Rental Housing: A Social Psychological Approach." *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, 21 (1989): 121-31.

A random sample of 59 Québécois landlords was surveyed in order to determine their attitudes to renting to four ethnic "out-groups" (English Quebecers, Italians, Asians and Haitians). Landlords were most willing to rent to members of the in-group (French Quebecers), neutral with respect to English Quebecers, slightly negative about Italians and Asians, and strongly negative about renting to Haitians. Economic factors accounted for attitudes to renting to all the out-groups but the Haitians. Social identity factors seemed to be more salient in the strong preference for French Quebecers, and the disinclination to rent to Haitians. Interestingly, English Canadians were deemed more socially desirable than other out-groups.

- 50 Hirsch, A. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

The author demonstrates that urban renewal in Chicago in the period studied did not succeed in promoting integration of the city (nor was it intended to). Rather, public housing was used to build a "better ghetto" in or adjacent to existing areas of Black residential concentration, with "integrated" fringe areas susceptible to resegregation. Hirsch holds that the Chicago example is a microcosm of the effects of urban renewal in the United States.

- 51 Hoover, Sally L. "Black and Hispanic Elderly: Their Housing Characteristics

and Quality." In M. Powell Lawton and Sally L. Hoover, eds., *Community Housing Choices of Older Americans*. New York: Springer, 1981, pp. 65-89.

Although Black elderly are less likely than Whites to be homeowners, they are more likely than Whites to remain in their homes. Black elderly are thus more likely to experience problems of overhousing and structural problems. Older Blacks are less likely than Whites to move to mobile homes or large apartment complexes. Hispanic elderly show more housing disadvantage than Whites, but less than Blacks.

- 52 Hulchanski, J. David. *Barriers to Equal Access in the Housing Market: The Role of Discrimination on the Basis of Race and Gender*. Research Paper 187. Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1993.

Hulchanski argues that racial and gender discrimination exist in "a system of mutual support," and that disadvantage in the rental market is reinforced by systemic discrimination in other areas of society. Visible minorities and women are especially likely to experience limited choice in the rental housing market, or to be the targets of unscrupulous landlords seeking financial gain (e.g., "key money").

- 53 Huttman, E. W. Blauw and J. Saltman. *Urban Housing: Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991.

This collection of essays provides a comparative perspective on housing segregation of ethnic minorities in Western Europe (the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, France, Switzerland, Britain) and the United States. The book is organized into four main parts: Housing Segregation in Western Europe; Policies and Programs Related to Housing Segregation in Western Europe; Housing Segregation in the United States; and Policies and Programs Related to Housing Segregation

in the United States. In general, housing segregation of ethnic minorities is less pronounced in European cities, and, as in the U.S., is related to income and employment, as well as to level of assimilation/similarity to the dominant culture. While some argue that some degree of segregation may have social and cultural advantages for ethnic minority groups, most policymakers agree that dispersal is desirable. Unlike in the U.S., homeownership among European minorities is rare, and social housing is more available. U.S. research is dominated by issues pertaining to Blacks, whereas West European minorities tend to be ex-colonials or invited "guest workers." West European researchers have been more interested in describing settlement patterns than their U.S. counterparts, who have focused more on segregation and discrimination.

- 54 Jackson, P., ed. *Race and Racism: Essays in Social Geography*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1987.

The premise of the essays in this collection is that "race" (interpreted as a cultural construct, as opposed to a biological "fact") is not a socio-geographical problem, but that racism is. The two sections of this book that are especially germane to the concerns of this bibliography are Part I: Segregation Reconsidered, and Part III: Racism and Anti-racism in Housing and Social Policy. Most of the essays deal with issues from a British perspective. The authors find racial segregation embedded in public policy and institutions, reflecting negative stereotypes about minority groups. The collection is somewhat unusual in that it includes essays about Gypsy, Irish and Jewish minorities in England. An interesting question raised in chap. 7 is whether levels of racism in different locales can be measured.

- 55 George Jarvis and Reg McLemore. *Segregation Patterns in Canadian Urban Areas*. Ottawa: Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, 1974.

This discussion paper, prepared for the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, summarizes the extent and form of residential segregation in Canadian cities in the early 1970s. The authors caution that "segregation" may be a loaded term, and that Canadian urban ethnic segregation does not necessarily have the negative overtones that it does in U.S. cities. Contrary to expectation, the literature indicated that ethnic segregation in Canada was not decreasing. Ethnicity is a multi-dimensional concept, including factors like religion and mother tongue which may more effectively in explain residential patterns than ethnicity alone. Socio-economic status, while a factor, did not explain the degree of segregation found. Only *involuntary* segregation (concentrations of low-income residents) should be addressed by federal policy initiatives. Stable ethnic communities should be assisted in maintaining the unique character of their neighbourhoods.

- 56 Kain, J. and J. Quigley. *Housing Markets and Racial Discrimination*. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1975.

Two themes run through this econometric analysis of the St. Louis, MO housing market: (1) housing services must be viewed as bundles of housing attributes rather than as a homogeneous good; (2) distortions in the housing market caused by racial discrimination. A third underlying thread is the effect of workplace location on housing consumption. Significant findings of the study are:

- Black households are less likely to own homes, and Black house-seekers are less likely to buy than White households with similar characteristics (size, income, composition, labour-force participation);
- Residential segregation does not arise from the desire for self-segregation by Blacks, but is the result of racial discrimination;

- "Average" housing in ghettos is more expensive than in White areas; high-quality units may be substantially more costly in Black areas;
 - Discriminatory housing markets result in losses in savings, access to education, and opportunities for employment, among Black families.
- 57 Kalbach, W.E. "Ethnic Residential Segregation and its Significance for the Individual in an Urban Setting." In R. Breton, W.W. Isajiw, W.E. Kalbach and J.G. Reitz, eds., *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991, pp. 92-134.

Kalbach's analysis of Canadian census data for 1971, 1976 and 1981 shows that the classic Burgess model of urban growth, where successive generations of immigrants "fan out" into the suburbs from inner-city reception areas and become assimilated into the larger population, does not necessarily hold true for most ethnic groups in Metropolitan Toronto. Only among Torontonians of English, Irish, Scottish, German and French descent does this pattern hold true; 14 other ethnic populations show high indexes of dissimilarity across three generations (with Jewish and Chinese populations being the most segregated). Educational status was found to have very little effect on residential segregation. Kalbach found a moderate correlation between residential segregation and participation in ethno-cultural activities.

- 58 Lai, David Chuen-Yan. *Chinatowns: Towns within Cities in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988.

This is a detailed history of Canadian Chinatowns, from 1858 to the 1980s. Lai discovers a pattern of development in Chinatowns established before World War II, which encompasses periods of "budding," "blooming," "withering," and "reviving."

Victoria's Chinatown, Canada's oldest, illustrates these stages of development most vividly. Lai also identifies Canadian Chinatowns into four types: Old Chinatowns, New Chinatowns, Replaced Chinatowns and Reconstructed Historic Chinatowns. Chinatowns have an important residential function, particularly for elderly Chinese-Canadians and (some) recent immigrants. Old, replaced and reconstructed Chinatowns play an important role in stabilizing inner-city communities and preserving Chinese-Canadian culture.

- 59 Lake, R.W. "Racial Transition and Black Home Ownership in American Suburbs." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 441 (January 1979): 142-56.

This article asks two questions: (1) is Black suburbanization equivalent to homeownership?; and (2) does Black suburban homeownership lead to the accumulation of equity and the creation of wealth? A national sample of suburban housing units surveyed in 1974-75 as part of the U.S. Census Bureau's Annual Housing Survey showed that Black suburbanization did not necessarily equate with ownership, nor did owning a home always lead to the generation of wealth for Blacks. On average, units available to Blacks were older, and more likely to decrease in value.

- 60 Lee, B. "Racially Mixed Neighborhoods During the 1970s." *Social Science Quarterly*, 66 (1985): 346-64.

This examination of census data for 25 large U.S. cities showed that, contrary to expectation, less than 60% of tracts showed increased Black representation in the 1970-1980 period ("White flight"). Significant percentages of tracts, however, showed Black declines or racial stability. The "classic" pattern of racial succession tended to occur less often in "sunbelt" Western and Southwestern cities.

- 61 Leven, Charles L. and Michael E. Sykuta. "The Importance of Race in Home Mortgage Loan Approvals." *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 29,3 (1994): 479-89.

Based on a case study of a large Midwestern U.S. lending institution, the authors warn that slight changes in empirical specification may cause drastically different results in the analysis of the influence of race on mortgage loan approvals. A large number of such case studies would be needed to render convincing evidence of discrimination.

- 62 Locke, D.C. *Increasing Multicultural Understanding: A Comprehensive Model*. Newbury Park, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1992.

This book is designed primarily for persons in the helping professions involved in counselling ethno-cultural minorities in the U.S., but it contains a number of insights relevant to housing and settlement issues. The book contains ten chapters, nine of which are about distinct ethnic groups: African Americans, Amish, Native Americans, Japanese Americans, Chinese Americans, Vietnamese in the U.S., Korean Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Rican Americans. Examples of information relevant to the topic of this bibliography are: provisions for housing the elderly among the Amish (p. 42); residual cultural exclusivity among Chinese Americans, resulting in ethnic enclaves ("Chinatowns") (p. 83); spiritual meanings inherent in Vietnamese architecture (p. 103, 106); the role of the extended family in many of the ethnic groups surveyed. A feature of this study, like other recent American works, is that it distinguishes between different Hispanic groups by country of origin—an important distinction, due to the different histories and cultures of the various Spanish-speaking peoples.

- 63 Lundrigan, M. "Invisible Walls: Barriers to Housing." *Canadian Housing*, 9 (1992): 8-10.

London, Ontario received the third-largest number of immigrants in Ontario after the much larger centres of Toronto and Ottawa. This article describes the preliminary findings of Invisible Walls, a project designed to determine the housing needs of immigrants and refugees in London. Service providers were used to identify multicultural people to be interviewed. The study found that the most urgent need was for newcomers to be able to gain access to suitable housing *quickly*. Otherwise, newcomers tend to take whatever accommodation is available, no matter how undesirable, and become "trapped" there due to family or financial considerations. Problems with landlords, and lack of familiarity with legal rights, were also sources of dissatisfaction.

- 64 Manitoba Association for Rights and Liberties. "Update on Racial Discrimination in Housing for the Human Rights Advocacy Housing Conference, February 19-20, 1988, University of Winnipeg."

This "update" is concerned mostly with housing discrimination against Natives, and refers to several instruments which have been used to measure such discrimination in Winnipeg: a "racial discrimination survey" (349 respondents, various visible minorities) undertaken in 1981-82 by MARL, which indicated that about a quarter of all respondents had experienced some form of housing discrimination; and a 1985 audit using pairs of Native and non-Native researchers, who contacted two commercial rental agencies—non-Natives were supplied with more and better listings, and both agencies displayed a more helpful attitude to non-Native apartment-seekers. Disparaging comments about "Native" areas of the city were made to non-Aboriginal researchers by agents, and one agency representative told a White team member that he/she could be given listings only for WASPy neighbourhoods, if preferred.

- 65 Massey, D.S. and N.A. Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*.

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

This book forcefully argues that the primary reason for the persistence of Black socio-economic disadvantage in the U.S. is residential segregation. The authors demonstrate that, although historically the urban Black population was relatively dispersed, in the twentieth century, U.S. cities, especially those in the north, show extremely high—and rising—segregation indices, despite the passage of the U.S. Fair Housing Act in 1968, and the integration of Blacks into other areas of "mainstream" American society. No other ethnic group in the U.S. has experienced this kind of prolonged and intense spatial concentration; no immigrant group has ever shown such marked segregation. Immigrant populations—even non-Black visible minorities—have tended to disperse into the wider community over time. Empirical evidence shows that Blacks are discriminated against in the housing market by realtors, lenders and landlords, as well as by White homeowners, who overwhelmingly prefer to live in predominantly White neighbourhoods (Blacks, in contrast, prefer integrated neighbourhoods). This unfairly constrains the residential choices of middle- and upper-income Blacks. Ghettoization has the effect of concentrating poverty in Black areas, with all its attendant social ills (drugs, crime, social isolation), and has created a Black urban underclass with a separate language, culture and ethos. The authors attribute the failure of the Fair Housing Act to alleviate residential segregation to lack of political will, which has left enforcement to activist individuals and associations. A strong federal commitment to implementing the Act is called for.

- 66 McAdoo, H.P., ed. *Family Ethnicity: Strength in Diversity*. Newbury Park, CA/London/New Delhi: Sage, 1993.

The relevant chapters in this anthology on the family and ethnicity in the U.S. are grouped together under the headings of African American, Mexican and Spanish-Origin

American, Native American, Muslim American and Asian American families. With the exception of the section on Muslim Americans, which consists of only one essay, each part contains several articles by different authors on various aspects of family ethnicity in these groups. A number of insights directly relevant to housing issues are scattered throughout the book. For example: the editor blames the huge number of single-parent families among African Americans on welfare and public housing policies that discouraged or disallowed multi-generational households (p. 84, 89); an account of an experiment in creating a "total environment for an American Muslim community" in the form of an all-Muslim settlement in New Mexico (pp. 238-40); Chinatowns (p. 247); the strong Chinese ethic of family care for the elderly, including co-residence with elderly parents (p. 279); the break-up of traditional multi-generational living arrangements in the U.S. among Vietnamese Americans due to the high cost of suitable housing (p. 303); the tendency of Vietnamese males to live alone, due to a surplus of male refugees (p. 313). Due to the intimate connection between families and housing, many of the articles in this collection are of general relevance to the subject.

- 67 Matwijiw, P. "Ethnicity and Urban Residence: Winnipeg, 1941-71." *Canadian Geographer*, 23 (1979): 45-61.

The author found that, contrary to the Park-Burgess model of ecological invasion and succession of immigrant populations from centre to concentric urban zones, several Winnipeg ethnic groups (Asians, Italians, French, Ukrainian, Polish, German) have concentrated and remained in specific areas of the city. Despite changes in residential patterns (expansion and dispersion), ethnic areas endured in the 30 year period under study, and each showed *distinctive* patterns and characteristics rather than conforming to the classic model. This may be related to the stability of rural ethnic communities in Southern Manitoba.

- 68 Mercer, J. "Asian Migrants and Residential Location in Canada." *New Community*, 15 (1989): 185-202.

Using 1981 census data, the authors found that Asian migrant populations (Chinese, Indo-Pakistani, Pacific Islanders) in Vancouver and Toronto show evidence of residential concentration, although large migrant majorities in specific areas are rare.

- 69 Moghaddam, F.M. "Ethnic Segregation in a Multicultural Society: A Review of Recent Trends in Montreal and Toronto and Reconceptualization of Causal Factors." In Frances Frisken, ed., *The Changing Canadian Metropolis: A Public Policy Perspective*. Volume 1. Toronto: Canadian Urban Institute, 1994, pp. 237-58.

Moghaddam argues that ethnic segregation, which continues to be a feature of Canadian cities, must be explained by more complex variables than the usual voluntary/involuntary dichotomy allows. He measures dispositional-situational features of two ethnic communities, Greek and Chinese, to find explanations for the high level of segregation of these two groups. He found that Greeks who lived in segregated areas tended to have fewer years of schooling and lower self esteem; ethnically segregated Chinese, in contrast, showed a high level of concern for ethnic culture maintenance, and a strong sense of societal discrimination against their group (but not against individuals). The author calls for a higher level of multicultural awareness in urban planning, and notes that Canadian multiculturalism policy should encourage ethnic segregation to facilitate heritage preservation and sharing.

- 70 Moghaddam, F.M., Donald M. Taylor and Richard N. Lalonde. "Integration Strategies and Attitudes toward the Built Environment: A Study of Haitian and Indian Immigrant Women in Montreal." *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, 21 (1989): 160-73.

The women surveyed rejected the idea of ethnic residential segregation; the interpreters surmise that this may be the result of perceived racial discrimination. The authors observe that such resistance to ethnic segregation might be an impediment to implementation of multiculturalism policy through urban planning aimed at nurturing ethnic neighbourhoods.

- 71 Murdie, R.A. "Blacks in Near-ghettos? Black Visible Minority Population in Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority Public Housing Units." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Geographers, Ottawa, June 1993.

This study tests the perception that Black tenants are over-represented in social housing owned by the Metro Toronto Housing Authority, and that Blacks in MTHA housing are segregated in high-rise developments. The data sources used were Census Enumeration Data, 1971 and 1986, Unit-Tenant Master File, Ontario Ministry of Housing, 1990, and Public Use Microdata File, 1986. The results showed that the proportion of Black tenants in MTHA housing increased by 4.2% in 1971 to 27.4% in 1986, a much higher concentration than in the Toronto CMA overall. However, it was found that Black tenants are fairly evenly distributed among projects (high- and low-rise). The concentration of Blacks in social housing in Toronto is attributed to recentness of arrival in Canada, prevalence of female-headed, single-parent households, and supply, cost and discriminatory constraints.

- 72 Neumann, Brigitte, Richard Mezzoff and Anthony J. Richmond. *Immigrant Integration and Urban Renewal in Toronto*. Toronto/Montreal/Vancouver: Copp Clark, 1973.

This study of areas designated in 1966 as long-range urban renewal areas in Toronto is based on a survey of residents undertaken in 1969. Residents were generally favourable to the idea of urban rehabilitation, but less so to the prospect of forced relocation, especially among

older residents. The authors observe that without careful planning and public consultation, controversies surrounding urban renewal could acquire ethnic overtones, due to the relatively large number of immigrants living in the designated areas.

- 73 Neuwirth, G. *The Settlement of Ethiopian Refugees in Toronto: An Exploratory Study*. Ottawa: Policy Analysis Directorate, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989.

This pilot study summary focuses on the linguistic, economic and social adaptation of a sample of 20 Ethiopian refugees in Toronto (15 men, 4 women). *Linguistic adaptation* was discovered to be fundamental. Refugees' ability to transfer occupational skills was also found to be important to adjustment to life in Canada. One recommendation is that functionally illiterate refugees be assisted in finding suitable housing to prevent victimization by unprincipled landlords.

- 74 Nyakabwa, R.K. "The Socioeconomic Adaptation of African Refugees to Canada." Master's Thesis, Department of Family Studies, University of Manitoba, 1989.

The author surveyed 31 Black African refugees (from Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda and South Africa) in Winnipeg in 1988 in order to investigate factors influencing their socio-economic adaptation. Variables enhancing adaptation were: age; presence of an ethnic community; length of residence; friends from ethnic community; peace and freedom of life in Canada. Problems encountered were: finding an appropriate job; language difficulties; financial problems; feelings of not belonging; loneliness (including isolation from extended family); discrimination/negative attitude to Blacks; qualifications not recognized/accepted; unequal job opportunities; difficult to make friends with Canadians. Respondents expressed a high level of satisfaction with housing and furniture (58% satisfied, 10% very satisfied). Ninety percent of respondents

rented their homes. Problems with the data were small sample size (N=31), the preponderance of young, highly educated, single male respondents, and the fact that all respondents belonged to ethno-cultural organizations.

- 75 O'Brien, D. and J. Lange. "Racial Composition and Neighborhood Evaluations." *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 8 (1986): 43-62.

This study, based on a survey of neighbourhoods in Akron, Ohio, attempts to discover some of the reasons for the negative neighbourhood evaluations of White residents in racially mixed communities. Three possible explanations—status loss, perceived decline in quality of neighbourhood services and fears about personal safety—are examined. For Whites, status loss and concern about personal safety appear to be salient. Blacks, on the other hand, perceive large numbers of Blacks in a neighbourhood to have a negative impact on the quality of services, but also experience a greater sense of personal safety in such areas.

- 76 Oc, Tanner. "Inner City Housing Improvement and Ethnic Minorities in Britain." In W. Van Vliet *et al.*, eds, *Housing and Neighborhoods: Theoretical and Empirical Contributions*. Westport: Greenwood, 1988, pp. 91-104.

The author argues that ethnic minorities in Britain suffer disproportionately from inferior housing conditions, and many have little chance of achieving ownership, or even acquiring council housing. He recommends federal intervention in the form of large-scale rehabilitation programs for dilapidated inner-city housing, where minority groups tend to be concentrated.

- 77 Owen, D. *Ethnic Minorities in Great Britain: Housing and Family Characteristics*. National Ethnic Minority Data Archive 1991, Census

Statistical Paper 4. Warwick: Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, 1993.

- 78 Pearson, E. and B. Celine. "Community Consultation Report: Access to Permanent Housing for New Canadians." Toronto: Whyy Mee Family Counselling Foundation of Metro Toronto, 1991.

This brief report outlines the results of the Access to Permanent Housing for New Canadians (APHNC) Seminar sponsored by Toronto's APHNC Committee in March 1991. Two workshops were held: Race Relations in Social Housing and Cross Cultural Approaches to Housing for Seniors; and Strategies for Community Action. Concerns raised in the first workshop were delays in investigating human rights complaints, lack of affordable housing for new immigrants, lack of ethnic representation in the housing industry, government departments are poorly informed about the needs of minorities, employment equity concerns, and isolation experienced by immigrant seniors. The second workshop raised concerns about the supply of affordable housing (more units required), the need for non-profit community organizations, a data base on housing needs, ethno-specific services, and a Ministry of Housing liaison with resource groups serving immigrants.

- 79 Prairie Research Associates Inc. *The Relationship Between Newcomer Tenants and Their Landlords*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Interfaith Immigration Council, 1992.

This study, undertaken for a Winnipeg immigrant settlement agency, surveyed newcomers from four linguistic groups (Farsi, Spanish, Vietnamese and Polish) and landlords in order to determine the issues which commonly caused tension between the landlords and immigrant tenants.

Among tenants, a large percentage of Polish and Spanish speaking respondents were unaware of the requirement of giving adequate

notice to landlords. 36.4% of respondents claimed that a condition report had not been prepared when they moved into their residence, and more (47.1%) did not have a copy of a completed condition report. It was often not fully understood that insufficient cleanliness could lead to the loss of a damage deposit. Noise and multiple-tenancy regulations were not recognized by significant numbers of some groups. Housing quality was the most significant issue for all four groups. Housing affordability and location were also concerns.

Landlords considered 95% of all new immigrants referred to them by settlement agencies to be good tenants. Among the 5% that caused problems, landlords listed multiple tenancy, cleanliness, noise and lease violation as significant. Landlords were split 50-50 as to whether these were problems unique to recent immigrants, or simply the same difficulties experienced with other low-income tenants.

The report concludes with a list of recommendations directed to the settlement agencies, the Refugee Settlement Unit of Employment and Immigration Canada, Manitoba Landlord and Tenant Affairs, Landlords, and Ethno-cultural Organizations. The strongest recommendation is for enhanced interpreter support, as many tensions between landlords and tenants could be cleared up easily with better communication.

- 80 Quann, D. *Racial Discrimination in Housing*. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1979.

This report gives an overview of the limited data on racial discrimination in Canadian housing available in 1979. It integrates information gleaned from individuals and organizations in all the provinces and territories involved in housing ethnic minorities. Discriminatory practices in the allocation of rental and owned housing are described, and problems encountered by immigrants and Natives are identified. A chapter is devoted to "Discrimination by Neighbours." Some attention is also given to the benefits and

drawbacks of ethnic enclaves. An interesting table (Appendix B) summarizes racial discrimination complaints filed with the Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1962-1977. It is illustrative of the comment that "It is not possible to document the frequency with which housing discrimination arises" (p. iv) that this Appendix lists only 47 instances of racial discrimination in housing in a 15-year period!

- 81 Race Relations Committee, Kitchener-Waterloo. *Substandard Housing in Kitchener-Waterloo: A Focus on Ethnic Minorities*. Kitchener, ON: Race Relations Committee, 1991a.

The finding of this report is that ethnic minorities in Kitchener-Waterloo (especially Kitchener), particularly immigrants, are often forced to live in substandard housing. The city, they conclude, should make enforcement the priority of the Property Standards office.

- 82 Race Relations Committee, Kitchener-Waterloo. *Racial Discrimination and Rental Accommodation in Kitchener-Waterloo*. Kitchener, ON: Race Relations Committee, 1991b.

The researchers found that recent immigrants and refugees, as well as Native people, often experienced difficulty in obtaining affordable, adequate housing in Kitchener-Waterloo, due to racial discrimination on the part of landlords. Investigations by service providers showed that units identified by landlords as "not available" to minority home-seekers were, in fact, vacant. The housing that subjects eventually were able to find was often substandard.

- 83 Ray, B.K. and E. Moore. "Access to Homeownership among Immigrant Groups in Canada." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 28 (1991): 1-27.

Based on an examination of data from the 1986 census, the authors find that homeownership among immigrants differs by ethnicity, age/year of immigration, education

and region in Canada. Overall, immigrants show higher levels of homeownership than non-immigrants; South Europeans and Asians are much more likely to own. Younger immigrants are less likely to own than the middle-aged (35-64). This may be explained by the fact that earlier immigrants have had longer to establish themselves economically, but it may also be the result of the changing profile of recent immigrants (Third World immigrants and refugees) and changes in the Canadian economy. Caribbean immigrants show consistently low ownership levels. The authors speculate that high levels of homeownership among immigrants in Canadian inner cities may explain the relative stability of inner city neighbourhoods compared with U.S. cities.

- 84 Rex, John. *The Ghetto and the Underclass: Essays in Race and Social Policy*. London: Avebury, Gower, 1988.

This is a collection of essays, written throughout the 1980s, on various aspects of race relations in Britain. The author notes that in the late 1960s and early '70s, the problems of ethnic minorities were attributed to socio-economic and environmental factors, rather than to discrimination. He warns against uncritically applying U.S. models to the British situation, and questions the efficacy of the "race relations industry." Of special relevance here are the chapters on segregation and integration, old and new themes in urban development, race and the urban system, and the urban race riots of 1981. Other chapters deal with social policy, law and politics, education and race relations research, equality of opportunity for minority children, and policing of multi-racial inner-city areas.

- 85 Richmond, Anthony H. *Ethnic Residential Segregation in Metropolitan Toronto*. Downsview, ON: York University Institute for Behavioral Research, 1972.

This analysis of 1970 census data found that while the population of Metropolitan Toronto

showed evidence of concentration by ethnicity and religion, residents of "ethnic" areas resided there by choice, and for most respondents, ethnicity was irrelevant to preference as to where to live. Religion and social class appeared to be factors in residential concentration for second and subsequent generations of Canadian-born residents (native-born, middle-class Jews and third generation British-Canadian Anglicans were found to be relatively highly concentrated). The author ends with the prophetic note that immigrants from African, Asia and the West Indies, as well as Aboriginal immigrants to Toronto, might meet with racial discrimination in housing in the future.

- 86 Saltman, Juliet. *Integrated Neighborhoods in Action*. Washington, DC: National Neighbors, 1977.

Proceedings of the 1975 National Neighbors Great Lakes Regional Conference, October 24-26, 1975, Akron, Ohio. National Neighbors is an organization dedicated to maintaining racially integrated neighborhoods. Contains detailed notes on six workshops: Getting Quality Integrated Schools (as well as an equity, thought to be essential to attracting Whites to Black areas); Having and Keeping Integrated Neighborhoods; Pursuing Our Goals through Lawsuits (enforcement of U.S. fair housing legislation is often left up to the victims of discrimination and advocacy groups); Making Our Organizations More Effective; Developing a Sense of Community; and Integrated Neighborhoods and Open Housing (the ideal of integration may limit freedom of choice for Black homeseekers). It would be interesting to know if the neighbourhoods represented at this conference are still integrated 20 years later.

- 87 Sarre, Philip. "Choice and Constraint in Ethnic Minority Housing." *Housing Studies*, 1 (1986): 71-86.

Using data gathered in a study of ethnic minority housing in Bedford, England (see item no. 76), Sarre develops a structurationist-realist

theoretical framework to clarify the dynamics of choice (e.g., tenure and locational preferences) and constraint (e.g., discrimination, ethnic steering) in the attempts of Italian, Indian and Caribbean immigrants to meet their housing needs. Sarre finds that, over time, immigrants have adjusted themselves to the requirements of the local housing market, but that, likewise, the housing market has also changed to take advantage of the desires of immigrants: "there is an element of choice within a system of constraints" (p. 73). The profit motive, along with anti-racism legislation, explains housing market adjustments. However, the author observes that the "struggles and sacrifices" endured by minorities in order to obtain certain kinds of housing (e.g., Italians and Indians show a strong preference for ownership; West Indians tend to desire Council housing) may support policies which take for granted an inequitable level of housing deprivation. Despite considerable inroads into the housing market, immigrants still occupy housing that is considerably below the standard of non-immigrants of similar socio-economic characteristics.

- 88 Sarre, P., D. Phillips and R. Skellington. *Ethnic Minority Housing: Explanations and Policies*. Aldershot, UK: Avebury, 1989.

This is an extremely detailed empirical and theoretical study of minority housing in the U.K. city of Bedford (pop. 100,000), a cosmopolitan town in which over a third of the residents were born outside the U.K. (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, West Indian, Italian, Eastern European). The theoretical framework is structurationist-realist, and is based on the conviction that ethnic housing disadvantage stems from a complex mix of "cultural choices, economic differences, institutional policies and practices, and racial or cultural discrimination" (p. 39). The study covers both public and private housing, owner-occupied and rental, inner-city and suburban. Low socio-economic status and preference do not account for the housing disadvantage (residential segregation,

low-quality housing) experienced by visible minorities. Conservative policy is blamed for exacerbating ethnic housing problems.

- 89 Scarborough Housing Education for Newcomers. *Housing and New Immigrant Communities: A Consultative Forum*. Scarborough, ON, 1992.
- 90 Schafer, R. "Racial Discrimination in the Boston Housing Market." *Journal of Urban Economics*, 6 (1979): 176-96.

The author finds that Blacks experience considerable markups in housing prices both in the ghetto and in transitional areas between all-White suburbs and the ghetto. Whites will pay more for similar housing in areas removed from Black residential areas. The Boston housing market supports three theories of racial discrimination: (1) that White landlords charge Blacks more than Whites; (2) Whites will pay a premium to live away from Black areas; (3) Blacks must pay more to add housing to the ghetto due to collusion among White players in the housing market.

- 91 Shaffir, William. *Life in a Religious Community: The Lubavitcher Chassidim in Montreal*. Toronto/Montreal: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1974.

A sociological study of an ultra-orthodox Jewish community in Montreal. Unlike other conservative religious bodies, the Lubavitcher do not isolate themselves from society by settling in remote rural areas, but maintain social boundaries through religious observances, education, dress, social activities, etc. The community is centred on the *Yeshiva* (a combination of school, community centre and synagogue) and on the teachings of the *Rebbe*, a charismatic religious teacher based in New York; the home, administered by female members of the community, is regarded as essential to inculcating the values of *Yiddishkayt* (Jewishness) in children, and to

upholding standards of ritual purity (*kosher*) and observance of festivals (one of the sources used in the study is a periodical called *Di Yiddishe Heim*—"The Jewish Home"). Lubavitchers actively proselytize other Jews, encouraging them to become more orthodox in their religious observance, and, ultimately, to become part of the community. Interactions with Gentiles are limited, impersonal and formal. Shaffir interprets the missionary activities as more concerned to legitimate the belief system of the community than as an effective means of gaining new recruits (few outsiders ever join the Lubavitchers wholeheartedly). The author, a less observant Jew, studied the community as a participant-observer.

- 92 Siad, A. *Findings on the Somali Community in the City of York*. Toronto: City of York Community Services, 1991.

A profile and needs assessment of the Somali community in the City of York. The study gives important background information on the Somalis (including reasons for leaving Somalia and the centrality of religion), maps the areas where Somalis live in York, identifies difficulties faced by newcomers (language, school adjustment, professional qualifications not recognized, psychological difficulties). Family and friends play an important role in meeting the needs of Somali immigrants, including housing. Housing is listed as one of the most important problem areas: (1) available apartments are too small for large families; (2) apartments are too expensive/lack of affordable housing/poor information, access to subsidized housing; (3) difficulty in renting due to discrimination (on welfare, racial); (4) overcrowding leads to health risks, family conflict; (5) frequent moves due to income/living arrangement (family reunification) changes. One of the key recommendations of the report is for long- and short-term housing programs for the Somali community (co-op housing, tenant placement, anti-discrimination education for Somalis and landlords).

- 93 Smart, Alan and Josephine Smart. "Monster Homes: Hong Kong Migration to Canada, Urban Conflicts, and Contested Representations of Place." Paper presented at the Conference on Urban Research, Learned Societies 1994, University of Calgary, June 16, 1994.

Changes in Canadian immigration policies and in the character of the world-economy have transformed the profile of immigrants to Canada in the post World War II period. Now the majority of immigrants (with the exception of family reunifications and refugees) are well-educated and members of the middle or upper classes in their places of origin. This paper examines the implications of these changes for the case of Hong Kong immigration, concentrating upon the social conflicts that have emerged in neighbourhoods which were previously predominantly Anglo and upper or middle class, such as Kerrisdale in Vancouver and Willowdale in Toronto. The Hong Kong migrants have been strongly criticized for the construction of "monster homes," for the demolition of historic properties, for cutting down old trees, for changing the character of neighbourhoods. These conflicts are examined within the context of recent theoretical developments in understanding the experience of urban places for those inhabiting, and the political utilization and contestation of such meanings and experiences. (Abstract quoted from conference literature).

- 94 Smith, B.A. and P. Mieszkowski. *A Study of Racial Discrimination in Housing*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1980.

This study of Houston and Chicago found that the housing markets in both cities were racially differentiated. While Blacks actually paid less for housing in both cities, Blacks inhabited lower quality housing in segregated neighbourhoods. Black underconsumption of housing was related to lower incomes, as well as less personal wealth. Integration of middle-

class Blacks may be inhibited by the excessive cost of housing in White-dominated areas relative to the cost of housing in segregated areas. A further motivating factor may be that Federal Housing Authority financing—virtually the only form of financing for low/moderate income Blacks—is more available for inferior-quality housing. Blacks were found to have a 10-15% lower likelihood of owning than Whites.

- 95 Smith, David and Anne Whalley. *Racial Minorities and Public Housing*. London: Political and Economic Planning, 1975.

The authors found that African and West Indian minorities in the U.K. could be disadvantaged in the allocation of council housing by the structure of the system: residency requirements; exclusion of owner-occupiers from waiting lists; large families/small units; differing housekeeping standards; communication problems. In addition, in three of ten authorities studied, some evidence of racial discrimination was found. Visible minorities tend to be steered toward low-quality, inner-city estates, thus reproducing "ghetto" conditions.

- 96 Smith, S. and J. Mercer, eds. *New Perspectives on Race and Housing in Britain*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, Centre for Housing Research, 1987.

This volume is the proceedings of a one-day seminar held at the Centre for Housing Research in Glasgow in June 1986. The papers address four main themes: the politics of race; the link between racial housing disadvantage/inequality and inequalities in the wider world of employment, access to services and social life; the historical, inter-generational aspect of race and housing; and cross-cultural comparison of housing conditions in societies with significant racial minorities. The editors warn against uncritical application of U.S. models and terminology to British conditions (e.g., "segregation"). Ironically, these papers, published in Glasgow, do not address the

unique housing experience of Blacks in Scotland.

- 97 Smith, S.J. *The Politics of 'Race' and Residence: Citizenship, Segregation and White Supremacy in Britain*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989.

This is a sophisticated examination of how racism and racial inequality in Britain are manifested in the segregation of U.K. cities. The social construct of "race," Smith argues, is reinforced by public policy, political decisions and popular prejudice, despite officially "colour-blind" legislation. The author concludes that a model of intervention to achieve racial justice must include: an orientation towards *individual rights* (as opposed to group needs), including securing universal political, civil and social rights of citizenship; intervention in the form of *state provisioning in cash or kind*; and *egalitarianism* with respect to effective rights to welfare, justice, political participation and employment (p. 187.)

- 98 Sternlieb, G. and R.W. Lake. "Aging Suburbs and Black Home Ownership." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 422 (November 1975): 105-17.

The primary source of demand for older housing units in inner suburbs in the U.S. would seem to be upwardly-mobile Blacks wishing to leave the inner city. However, while some areas show increased Black homeownership, demand appears to be lower than income levels would indicate. Equity from previous ownership may be a better indicator of ability to purchase a suburban home than current income. Thus, Black homeownership continues to be limited. Public policy measures are needed to offset these trends.

- 99 Suttles, Gerald D. *The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner City*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1963.

A "classic" study of the social, ethical and territorial relations among four ethnic communities—Italians, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Blacks (Negroes)—in a neighbourhood in the Near West Side of Chicago. The study is based on the author's experience as a youth worker and resident of the area over a three year period (participant observation). His mapping of the relations within and among the ethnic groupings in the neighbourhood lead him to the conclusion that the "slum-dwellers" interact according to mutually understood and functional rules and conventions which are misinterpreted by the middle class as chaotic and immoral.

- 100 Taeuber, Karl A. *Residence and Race: 1619 - 2019*. Working Paper 88-19. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Center for Demography and Ecology, 1988.

This essay optimistically, but cautiously, predicts that racial (Black) segregation in U.S. cities will decline in the future. This prediction is based on the finding that residential segregation showed a modest decline from 1970 to 1980. Taeuber attributes this phenomenon to more open racial attitudes among White Americans. However, he warns that other variables may operate to hinder desegregation (vested interests, political inertia, historical traditions).

- 101 Taeuber, Karl A. and Alma F. Taeuber. *Negroes in Cities*. Chicago: Aldine, 1965.

This is a key study in the literature on the residential segregation of Blacks in U.S. cities. The Taeubers used an "index of segregation"—a measurement of the statistical distribution of Blacks and non-Blacks in urban areas (a value of 0 indicates no segregation, 100 indicates total segregation)—to measure segregation in 207 U.S. cities, based on 1960 U.S. census data. This revealed a very high level of segregation in all the cities examined (60.4 to 98.1). Comparison with data from 1940 and 1950 showed that segregation

patterns varied somewhat over time (an overall increase from 1940-1950; a marked increase in southern cities—historically *more* integrated than northern cities—in 1950-1960). The level of Black segregation was found to be much higher than that for any other minority group, and is not explicable by socio-economic status factors alone.

- 102 Tobin, G., ed. *Divided Neighborhoods: Changing Patterns of Racial Segregation*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1987.

This is a collection of papers on various aspects of ethnic (mostly Black) residential segregation and discrimination in U.S. cities in the 1980s. An interesting feature of the book is the Epilogue, entitled "The Costs of Housing Discrimination and Segregation: An Interdisciplinary Social Science Statement," which summarizes what is known about contemporary housing segregation in U.S. cities:

1. Segregation is persistent, with most metropolitan areas, especially large ones, remaining highly segregated in the 1980s.
2. Housing audits reveal that discrimination against Black home seekers remains persistent.
3. Segregation and discrimination of Hispanics,* while less pronounced than for Blacks, are also salient, with Puerto Ricans being the most segregated.
4. Unequal practices of mortgage finance are practiced in Black, White and integrated neighbourhoods.
5. Federal, state and local fair housing laws are weakly enforced.
6. Although a high proportion of Americans favour housing integration in principle, Whites continue to favour neighbourhoods with small numbers of

Black households, whereas Blacks prefer a 50-50 mix.

7. Dispersal of public housing has not counteracted segregation; units in White areas tend to be rented to Whites.

The costs of segregation include barriers to Black economic progress (denial of homeownership results in lower net wealth for Black families) and lower access to employment (in cities where job opportunities are increasingly dispersed). Future research needs include the following topics: residential steering; the impact of enforcement strategies; the housing status of Hispanics; the effect of counselling on housing market knowledge; psychological costs of discrimination and ghettoization; self-fulfilling prophecies of disinvestment; community life cycle after racial change; racial change and local employment; changes in homeownership levels. Better measures and basic data need to be developed; integrated communities need to be systematically studied; and the impacts of governmental policies need to be identified.

*It should be noted that many U.S. Hispanics are of Black or Native American ancestry.

- 103 Turner, M.A. "Discrimination in Urban Housing Markets: Lessons from Fair Housing Audits." *Housing Policy Debate*, 3,2 (1992): 185-215.

Turner argues that fair housing audits have proven to be an extremely effective way of measuring racial discrimination against potential home buyers and renters. However, there is room for refinement of the methodology: a method for extending the audit into the pre-contact (marketing) stage in minority and integrated neighbourhoods (are potential sellers treated differently according to race?); audits should extend further into housing transactions than the initial contact with the realtor/landlord; audits should be conducted in non-White and integrated areas.

- 104 Turner, M.A., R.J. Struyk and J. Yinger. *Housing Discrimination Study: Synthesis*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 1991.

The Housing Discrimination Study is based on a national fair housing audit study sponsored by U.S. HUD. The results are based on 3800 fair housing audits conducted in 25 metropolitan areas in 1989 by The Urban Institute and Syracuse University. The Study was designed to achieve four objectives: to provide a national estimate of the level of housing discrimination against Blacks; to provide a comparable national estimate for Hispanics; effectively measure racial/ethnic steering; advance the methodology of housing audits. The study found that over 50% of Black and Hispanic auditors (posing as both renters and homebuyers) experienced some form of discrimination (housing availability, contribution to completing transactions, steering).

- 105 Van Hoorn, F.J.J.H. and J.A. Van Ginkel. "Racial Leapfrogging in a Controlled Housing Market: The Case of the Mediterranean Minority in Utrecht, the Netherlands." *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 77 (1986): 187-96.

This study argues that although "racial leapfrogging," a process whereby ethnic minorities move from inner-city areas to areas more peripheral than those dominated by the majority population, is increasingly found in large cities in many countries, the underlying causes may be quite different in different countries. In Utrecht, unlike U.S. cities, the migration of minorities (Mediterraneans) to remote suburbs is attributed to changes in municipal housing policy.

- 106 Varady, D. *Ethnic Minorities in Urban Areas*. Boston: Nijhoff, 1979.

This case study of Wynnefield, a middle-class Jewish community in Philadelphia undergoing racial transition from White to Black, attempts

to answer the question of whether stable integration can be achieved in such areas. The author found that: a key motivating factor in decisions to move was the perception of neighbourhood racial change; that levels of racial prejudice did not accurately predict likelihood of moving among Jewish residents; decision to remain in Wynnefield was influenced by perceived quality of the home; concern about street crime was a major consideration in decisions to move; homeowners' attitudes about Jewish-Gentile relations were a factor. The author concluded that neighbourhood stabilization could best be achieved by metropolitan-wide housing policies of dispersing low- and moderate-income Black families, and that local churches and synagogues should advocate for the development of such policies, as well as participating in more localized stabilization efforts.

- 107 Wallace, Edward C. "Housing for the Black Elderly—The Need Remains." In M. Powell Lawton and Sally L Hoover, eds., *Community Housing Choices of Older Americans*. New York: Springer, 1981, pp. 59-64.

The author argues that the data on the housing conditions of the Black elderly are partial, but that what is known indicates that older Blacks are poorly housed. Apart from public housing, elderly Blacks have been virtually excluded from U.S. federal housing programs. Wallace makes the following proposals for change: regular and routine reporting of the ethnic composition of federally funded housing; more federally funded housing developments in Black neighbourhoods; a massive program to rehabilitate seriously deteriorated housing owned by the elderly; greater efforts to give Black elderly access to housing of their choice.

- 108 Wienk, R.E. et al. *Measuring Racial Discrimination in American Housing Markets*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979.

This report of a nation-wide study of discrimination against Blacks in the sale and rental of housing in forty U.S. metropolitan areas, based on fair housing audits undertaken in 1977, gives empirical proof of discrimination against Blacks seeking both rental and owner-occupied housing. Research design, sampling procedures, and auditing methods are described in detail. Although in a large number of cases no difference in treatment between individual Black and White auditors was detected, Blacks were found to be disadvantaged in a significant number of cases on virtually all of the items examined (e.g., housing availability, courtesy, terms and conditions, information requested and volunteered). In view of U.S. anti-discrimination legislation, the outcomes of the study are identified as unacceptable; the authors point out that a "tolerable" level of discrimination does not exist.

- 109 Wilson, Ann M. *Housing Needs and General Well-being of Immigrants and Refugees in Calgary*. Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1992.

This report is based on an interviewer-administered survey of 337 recent immigrants to assess aspects of immigrant housing and satisfaction in Calgary from June 1991-February 1992. Significant findings were: most respondents lived in rented apartments; most were married couples with children; almost 30% had lived as dependents with parents or relatives before emigrating; immigrants estimated that they spent some 37% of their income on housing, but housing was both "suitable" and "adequate" by CMHC standards; most were satisfied with their accommodation, but would prefer to own a home.

- 110 Wilson, Thomas. "White Response to Neighborhood Racial Change." *Sociological Focus*, 16 (1983): 305-18.

This article reports on a study of racial turnover in ten mid-sized U.S. cities, using census data

from 1960 and 1970. Census tracts were defined as *stable White tracts* (< 100 non-White households in both years), *stable Black tracts* (90% non-White in both years), *invasion tracts* (< 100 non-White in 1960, but > 100 non-White in 1970), and *succession tracts* (> 100 non-White households in both years, but not 90% non-White). Nonracial determinants of area household turnover were used to estimate "normal" rates of moving to determine whether race was a factor in decisions to move in the census tracts selected. The study found two White responses to racial change in neighbourhoods: "White flight," but of low magnitude, and White avoidance of transitional areas. The author concludes that these factors, along with high demand for housing among Blacks, will inevitably lead to resegregation.

- 111 Winland, Daphne N. "Christianity and Community: Conversion and Adaptation among Hmong Refugee Women." *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 19,1 (1994): 21-46.

Based on interviews with Hmong (Laotian) refugee women in a small Southwestern Ontario city, the author examines the role of the Hmong Mennonite church in their socialization. The church was found to be an important resource for refugee women in adaptation to life in a new culture. The role of the church, and of pastoral advice, in locating housing, is noted.

- 112 Wuertz, Karen and Ton van der Pennen. "Participation by Ethnic Minorities in Urban Renewal in the Netherlands." In W. Van Vliet *et al.*, eds, *Housing and Neighborhoods: Theoretical and Empirical Contributions*. Westport: Greenwood, 1988, pp. 105-16.

The authors find that ethnic minority participation in urban renewal initiatives in three Dutch cities (Rotterdam, Dordrecht and The Hague) is low, and leads to the interests of migrants being overshadowed by those of non-

migrant citizens. This may be due to the ethos of the migrants' countries of origin (Turkey, Morocco, Surinam), where informal neighbourhood networks are much more effective than the formal bureaucratic channels that are the norm in Holland (however, this effect tends to lessen over time). Lack of ethnic participation in urban renewal needs to be addressed both at the policy level (planning for multicultural neighbourhoods) and by the self-organization of migrants at the neighbourhood level.

- 113 Yinger, J. "The Black-White Price Differential in Housing: Some Further Evidence." *Land Economics*, 54 (1978): 187-206.

This study of owner-occupied housing in St. Louis in 1967, which considers racial composition as a neighbourhood amenity, finds that unit price of housing decreases as percent Black increases, and that the price of housing shifts upward in Black and integrated areas. Blacks pay considerably more for housing than Whites, supporting the hypothesis of price discrimination against Blacks.

APPENDIX
PUBLICATIONS REVIEWED

Publications Reviewed

- 1 Africville Genealogical Society. *The Spirit of Africville*. Halifax: Maritext Books, 1992.
- 2 Anderson, Elijah. *Streetwise: Race, Class and Change in an Urban Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- 3 Anderson, Kay J. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.
- 4 Bailey, M.J. "Effects of Race and Other Demographic Factors on the Value of Single-Family Homes." *Land Economics*, 42 (1966): 215-20.
- 5 Balakrishnan, T.R. "Changing Patterns of Ethnic Residential Segregation in the Metropolitan Areas of Canada." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 19,1 (1982): 92-110.
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